INTEGRAL REVOLUTION

(*An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought*)

By

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Introduction by

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SARVA SEVA SANGH PRAKASHAN

RAJGHAT : VARANASI

Published by

Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Prakashan

Rajghat, Varanasi

First Edition

October 1970

Copies : 1500

Price :

Inland : Bound Rs. 10/- ; Paperback Rs. 6/-

Foreign : Bound Sh. 25, $ 4.00

Paperback Sh. 15, $ 2.50

Printed by :

Narendra Bhargava,

Bhargava Bhushan Press, Gaighat, Varanasi.

Publisher's Note

Sarva Seva Sangh is glad to publish this thesis on Integral Revolution by Dr. Indu B. Tikekar. It is an analytical study of Gandhian thought explaining fully the concept of Sarvodaya—the all-round well-being of all—'in a form acceptable to the academic world.'

The philosophy of Sarvodaya is based on the eternal values of Truth and Love 'which are the twin expressions of the fundamental unity of Life' Sarvodaya has developed the logical consequences of this unity leading to the Integral Revolution. The Sarvodaya thought has been trying to redress human suffering in different ways. The countrywide Satyagraha and non-cooperation movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and the Bhoodan and Gramdan—Land Gift movements led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave have drawn the attention of the whole world towards this integral revolution 'as an answer to a categorical demand of time'

This critical study of the Sarvodaya philosophy dealing with its principles, fundamentals, socialistic concepts, metaphysical and psychological aspects would be helpful not only to scholars, but also to every student of Sarvodaya philosophy who wants to go deeper in this study and understand the real message of Sarvodaya propagated mainly by Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave.

We are very thankful to Sri P. Y Deshpande for writing the 'Introduction' of the present work

Oct. 2, 1970



INTRODUCTION

To those of us who were young when Gandhi made his first powerful impact on the Indian political scene in 1920-21, by launching the Non-violent Non-cooperation movement, and who witnessed his phenomenal rise from a mere non-entity in politics before 1920, to the amazing height of practically becoming the sole arbiter of our national destiny, Gandhi has always meant much more than what he said or did, or what others said or did under his inspiration. The phenomenon of Gandhi remains a riddle despite the efforts made by historians, philosophers, moralists, religious and socio-political thinkers to explain it. All this massive effort leaves the main question still unanswered : What exactly was it that made it possible for Gandhi to move millions to respond spontaneously to his unprecedented and unpremeditated call for a non-violent revolution as a way out of the inhuman domination for the mighty British Empire—a call that actually crystalised into a concrete fact of the political emancipation of India within the small span of only twenty seven years ?

To most of us who not merely witnessed but actually participated in the socio-political upheavals of the times, no answer so far attempted to explain this everchallenging phenomenon seems adequate enough to ring true in our hearts.

The tradition-bound mind of India has been, and still remains, a sphinx-like colossus. It never responded to the calls for socio-political changes on such a massive scale, throughout its history of not less than five thousand years. It did respond to the call of the Buddha, the Enlightened One, on a gigantic scale—a call that excercised its self-illuminating spell on India and Asia for over a thousand years. But it was wholly a non-political call. It was a call to awaken man to a dynamic awareness of his identity, uninfluenced by external pressures and internal tensions. It was a call to stand alone and be a light unto oneself, and move on this earth to awaken fellow human beings to their existential destiny. And strangely enough, this aloneness unified isolated identities of millions in India and Asia in a manner that still remains a challenging mystery to the intelligence of man.

To explain man and the radical changes in human life he brings about, in terms of external environmental pressures and internal conditionings, is to repeat *ad nauseum* pre-established formulas of comprehension which tend to equate words with things and the ever strange reality with the familiar patterns of recognition. The words that Gandhi used, such as, Truth and Non-violence, were so well-known in India right from the ancient Vedic times that to describe Gandhi as an 'Apostle of Truth and Non-violence' is to explain the living new in terms of the dead old It is like explaining the workings of a living organism in terms of the findings of postmortem examinations. Such post-mortem ways of understanding man and the social changes he brings about, have become so popular and respectable that seeing their continuing influence on the minds of men, one is left wondering whether men, in general, all over the world are at all interested in truth and right understanding Prophets of ever new action thus get submerged in the refuge of verbalisations, mounting up to the menacing proportions of ecological pollutions.

It is often forgotten that the problem of understanding man and the changes that are brought about in human life through his actions, is, basically, a problem of understanding oneself through the creative processes of self-knowledge As Ortega y Gasset, rightly called the 'master of the philosophical essay', puts it : "To understand other people, I have nothing else to resort to than the stuff that is my life. Only my life has of itself '*meaning*' and is, therefore, intelligible The situation seems ambiguous, and so it is in a way. With my own life I must understand precisely what it is in alien life that makes it distinct and strange to mine My life is the universal interpreter. And history as an intellectual discipline is the systematic endeavour to make of any other human being an *alter ego*, in which expression both terms—the *alter* and the *ego*—must be taken at their full value. Here lies the ambiguity, and this is why the situation presents a problem to reason " (In the section entitled, "Prologue to a History of Philosophy" of Ortega's book "Concord and Liberty"—Norton paperback).

Therefore, the only way open to me or to any one else, to understand the life of other man, say Gandhi, is to adopt a process whereby the 'meaning' of his life is brought home to me in terms of my life which alone is in itself meaningful to me. Such a process is founded on a feeling, common to all men, that though being the *other*, the other

man does not seem to be irremediably bound to be other than I for all time to come "I continue to feel that, in principle, he could be I. Love and friendship live on this belief and this hope; they are extreme forms of assimilation between the I and the *you*" (Ibid)

Men, in general, lack love and friendship in as much as most of their relationships are the products of built-in likes and dislikes rooted in their fearful, conditioned and petty ego-centric psyche. Most of us are afraid of almost everything that is not the *me* and the *mine*. It calls for a transcendence of the *me* and the *mine*, and the emergence of an 'intellectual unselfishness' in harmony with love and friendship, to understand the *other*. According to Ortega, "the technique of such intellectual unselfishness is called history."

Gandhi is already a part of history. And the only way open to me, or to any one, to understand his life and work is "to assimilate myself imaginatively to him". This could be possible only if I am really anxious to abandon myself into the undefined realm of a truth-finding enquiry inspired by a passion for understanding Gandhi in terms of my own life as a human being.

Most of us who lived in the times of Gandhi felt charged with a vision of an emergence of a new mind and a new world in which, not the compulsions of modern technology or of ideologies based on them, but the self-realised imperatives of the supreme importance of truth and friendliness for men all over the world, would be the decisive factors in the shaping of human destiny. But now, unfortunately, as we look at India of the post-Gandhi era, we are overwhelmed with a feeling of intense existential despair. From the moment Gandhi fell down as a result of bullet-shots fired by a fanatic, he was reduced to a repetitive ritual of a set of words he frequently used while he was alive—words from which the vital things they then conveyed had been totally squeezed away.

There are still a few valiant souls who are, ever-since the death of Gandhi, carrying on tirelessly the work which was dear to him There is, for instance, Vinoba, rightly described as the spiritual successor of Gandhi, whose work as the pioneer of the Land-gift movement has attracted world-wide attention But despite this work, pregnant with revolutionary implications, India presents today a picture of a 'free' nation which has become as alien to Gandhi and his teachings as any other nation. The fire of a new dimensional revolution, lit up by

Gandhi, has ceased to kindle the hearts of millions as it did while he was alive.

The fact is that we have lost the sense to separate what is important from what is unimportant in respect of the life and teachings of Gandhi. We remain imprisoned in the huge cage of verbalisations from which the bird of life has flown away. Our habitual craze for the so-called 'positive' makes us impervious to the fact that 'negative thinking is the highest form of thinking' and negative action, carrying with it the touch of creative energy, is the highest form of action. 'Action' worth the name must necessarily be free and creative. All other so-called actions are not *actions* but *re-actions* masquerading as actions. The essence of Gandhi's success lay in his capacity to think negatively and act creatively. The great and eternally significant 'Negation' of "Non-violent Non-cooperation" with things and attitudes that are basically inhuman and evil—a Negation which brought Gandhi with a thunder on the Indian political scene—is today drowned in the deafening noises of material progress, hypocritically adorned with words and phrases which mean nothing to our present day leaders, but which meant life and death to Gandhi. And so we remain unaware of the fact that every repetition of Gandhi's words is as much of a bullet in the living body of Gandhi as the ones that killed him. The only difference is that the assasin of Gandhi knew what he was doing. Gandhi's political successors do not even know what they are doing.

We have become, what Ortega calls '*mass-man*'. "What is he like, this mass-man who today dominates public life, political and non-political, and why is he like it, that is, how has he been produced ?" This phenomenon of 'mass-man' dominates the contemporary human situation on a global scale and even Gandhi's India has fallen a prey to it. This 'mass-man' is a product of massive modern technology whose operational compulsions reduce not only the average man but the cleverest of men not excluding the makers of technology themselves to non-man. Mass-man is in fact a non-man, and yet he is in total control of the entire structure of global technology that dominates and determines the policies of all nation-states. The unprecedented power that technology has placed in the hands of technicians and politicians, is so sweeping that it is able to blow up the human civilisation in a matter of minutes. But this monstrous destructiveness is covered up by the lovely veil of technological perfections and the completeness of

life, a fact which "suggests to those who dwell in it the radical assurance that tomorrow it will be still richer, ampler, more perfect, as if it enjoyed a spontaneous, inexhaustible power of increase."

Having pin-pointed the origin and the nature and structure of this mass-man, Ortega rightly observed : "It is illusory to imagine that the mass-man of today, however superior his vital level may be, compared to other times, will be able to control, by himself, the process of civilization... ..Ill-fitted to direct it is this average man who has learned to use much of the machinery of civilization, but who is characterised by *root ignorance* of the very principles of that civilization."

If mind is the root of all human endeavours, then the "root-ignorance" of this 'mass-man', which darkens the human scene today, has got to be uprooted by a process capable of clearly understanding and effectively overcoming the challenges of modern technocracies. Neither woolly-minded democracy nor tough-minded socialism or communism can offer any hope to man because both these, and other socio-political patterns of thinking, are themselves the victims of this mass-man-phenomenon. The up-rooting of this "root ignorance" now dominating the human scene demands a discovery of a radical psychological process capable of liberating the human mind from all pattern-building forms of thinking that hold mankind in perpetual bondage. Such a discovery becomes possible only when a sensitive man is confronted with a challenging situation which renders all pre-established patterns of thinking utterly meaningless.

Gandhi was, in fact, confronted with such a challenging situation in India in 1919-1920. The massacre by the British soldiers of innocent citizens, gathered for a peaceful meeting in the Jalianwala Bag, threw the whole country in a wild but impotent rage. Angry protests rocked the whole land from end to end. But anger was no answer to the situation which demanded immediate and effective action. All the national leaders were found unequal to the challenge. Beyond the passing of strongly worded resolutions of protests in mass meetings held all over the country they could think of no other way of responding to the challenging situation. The cult of the bomb could also be no answer. And an armed rebellion was out of question in a country forcibly disarmed and deliberately emasculated for about a century.

Gandhi had implicit faith in British Justice. But this was uprooted when a demand for a judicial enquiry into the massacre at Jalianwala

Bag was unceremoniously rejected by the British Government. And a non-official public enquiry, with which Gandhi was associated, had come to the conclusion that the massacre was wholly unprovoked, brutal and barbarous. This conclusion undermined the very foundations of Gandhi's faith in British justice. He found himself totally at sea. Even his past experience of Satyagraha could show him no light. Something wholly new was called for to provide an adequate answer to the challenge posed by the British administration which showed such scant regard for elementary justice and human decency.

It was in a situation like this that Gandhi, while addressing a public meeting, suddenly hit upon a germinal idea of non-violent non-cooperation with all British institutions, including schools, colleges and law-courts. It came to him like a flash of lightening. While speaking he was also thinking aloud, as though he was asking and challenging himself as to what possibly he, as an individual, could do to meet the challenge of the situation. His loud thinking took the following form : "I see that violence can offer no solution to any human problem, at any time. I see that the elementary right to justice, the very basis of civilised life, is denied to us; justice that results, after an impartial judicial probe into a punishment of the wrong-doers. A government that denies such natural justice to its citizens, quite apart from politics, is a '*satanic government*'. It is evil. It is sinful. What do we do when confronted with sin or anything evil ? We don't do it. We non-cooperate with it at all cost. That is it. We, the people of India, must resolve, here and now, to non-violently non-cooperate with all governmental institutions "

Thus was born a creative idea of infinite revolutionary potentialities. It was not a mere conceptual idea but a germinal seed of action born of passion to meet the existential situation.

It is pertinent to note here that it was not "Satyagraha" but 'Non-violent Non-cooperation' that enabled Gandhi to over-shadow Indian political leadership as a whole and become a dynamic focus of attraction for the people of India Politics based on the primitive technique of animosity and war, traditionally worked up on the constitutional or ultra-constitutional plane, suddenly became suspect in the eyes of the Indian people The traditional Indian mind was, and is, essentially non-political. It carried within its soul the echoes of universal religion (Dharma) charged with a mystic cosmic awareness. True, the echoes

had become feeble and confused as a result of entanglements in dead rituals and equally dead dogmas. Even so, something of the original cosmic religious feeling still lingered in the Indian mind. It was this slumbering 'something' that was awakened by the call of Non-violent Non-cooperation. It was not conflict-ridden politics of perpetual animosity and war, hot or cold, but something transcending all conflicts and all wars between man and man, and nation and nation, that seemed to be at the very heart of this new call. It was as though politics was suddenly transmuted into a new form of universal religion charged with creative energy.

Indian religious tradition, the Vedic and the Buddhist, always carried through its temporal forms, capable of degeneration, something non-temporal and capable of ever-new regeneration It was this non-temporal aspect of the Indian religious psyche that was stirred to action by the call of non-violent non-cooperation. And it was because of this that the people responded to this call in such a massive and decisive way as to belie all calculations of the worldly-wise and clever politicians. All political leaders who had assumed a national stature, therefore, became overnight the followers of non-political Gandhi.

This was indeed a miracle. And yet it is a fact as 'brutal' as any other historical event It is a fact which is often overlooked by political and cultural historians and even by critical thinkers on the philosophical plane Unfortunately, modern philosophy has also become as conformist and ritualistic as the past-oriented religious tradition, or the future-oriented science and technology. The understanding of history and of events that bring about not only directional but dimensional changes in human life, depends not on clever and speculative forms of thinking but on a process of creative re-living and imaginative assimilation of oneself with the 'other', as Ortega has pointed out.

Those of our generation who witnessed and passionately participated in the gigantic new dimensional mass-movement, triggered almost magically by the call of 'non-violent non-cooperation', can not even today, after a lapse of over four decades, fail to be thrilled by the mere mention of it. As we look back and re-live the situation, we can now see clearly that the battle for political independence of India was won in 1920-21.What followed later under Gandhi's leadership was a matter of mere political manoeuvering and a battle of wits to give a formal shape to this independence It took a quarter of a century to bring this about.

And it might have taken more time if the new forces let loose by the Second World War had not appeared on the international political scene to help our movement for independence. Like a star on the horizon whose light takes a few centuries to reach the human eye on the earth, it took a quarter of a century for the British rulers to realise the implications of the radical awakening in India brought about under Gandhi's leadership in 1920-21. And it may take many more decades for the political leaders of the world to see that the way of power-politics and violence is not, and can never be, the answer to the ever-changing and ever-challenging human situation which, thanks to the blind slavery of the charms of modern technology, has brought humanity today on the brink of a disaster that threatens to obliterate all civilised life from the face of this planet.

It is said that man learns by experience. But it is often forgotten that man's identification with experiences, pleasant and painful, and his tendency to remain doggedly attached to his so-called cultural heritage, assuming various forms of insane vanity in all countries, operates as the main obstacle to learn anything from experience. Experience of conflict, violence and war is as old as the hills. And yet man has learnt nothing from this experience and he still prefers to dwell in the fond belief that conflict, violence and war will somehow come to an end through some form of a clever, and yet more clever rationalisation. Consequently, the world is witnessing today the growth of a family of doctrines which Sidney Hook, calls the 'Ideologies of Violence'. "These ideologies have developed on the peripheries of movements of social protest originally fired by an idealism opposed to war and oppression. Gradually, however, they have acquired a programmatic character of their own."

These ideologies assert that "violence and the threat of violence are necessary and useful in achieving social reforms. The criticism of the use of violence is denounced as hypocritical, as a way of playing the game of the Establishment, as a reaching for a cowardly peace with it." Sidney Hook, in his article on 'Ideology of Violence', (Encounter, April, 1970), has critically examined these ideologies and shown conclusively their falsity and their power of retarding all social reform and perpetuating the vicious circle of violence and counter-violence *ad infinitum*.

There is yet another way of looking at the 'Ideologies of Violence.' The emergence of *homo sapiens* from the common animality to the spe-

cific humanity is, through and through, informed by the transmutation of rigidity into flexibility, of less vulnerability to more and more vulnerability in the way of coping with nature's exigencies. "Once launched on the way to humanity through bipedalism, hunting, and the use of tools, our ancestors became more dependent on their brains than their predecessors had been ..Man took the *'cultural way'* before he was clearly distinguishable from the animals, and in consequence found himself stuck with this mode of adaptation It turned out to be very successful ...But because he became dependent on culture, then mutation and natural selection operated to improve on the organ most necessary to cultural behaviour, namely, the brain and in particular the neo-cortex with its important functions of association and control . His large and efficient brain is a *consequence* of culture as much as its *cause* ...As cultural pressures grew so did selection pressures for better brains, and as better brains emerged culture could take new leaps forward thus in turn exerting more pressures, and so on." (Robin Fox, in "The Cultural Animal"—Encounter, July 1970).

The genius of nature stands revealed in the process of man's transmutation from the roots of common animality to the flower of specific humanity through cultural process. Man's manness lies hidden in his cultural capacity to make rapid adjustments 'without anarchy.' "The tool making animal (man) needed mind to survive; that is, he needed language and culture and the reorganisation of experience that goes with this. And having got the rudiments and become dependent on them there was no returning back.. .It was mind or nothing....Two related processes, thought and self-control, evolved hand in hand" (Robin Fox).

The movement of mind 'through thought and self-control' must go forward in the direction of the transmutation of thought into more and more self-control through intelligent understanding of the ever-changing existential situation. The life-energy tending to get entangled into rigid, non-flexible, violent responses, a relic of the animal heritage, must get liberated and transmuted into intelligent, self-aware responses which must necessarily be more and more non-violent, more and more cultured and civilised.

The so-called revolutionaries and radical reformers often forget that violent responses to the changing situations are essentially primitive forms of reactions and so are totally opposed to culture and civilisa-

tion, the very essence of man's manness. To the extent to which man discarded and liberated himself from the rigid and violent forms of responses to the challanges of life and adapted himself to intelligent ways of coping with them, he became cultured and civilised. Consequently, all violent ideologies must be regarded as tending to reverse the irreversible processes of culture and, as such, a throwback to primitivism, whatever the language they use to justify this throw-back. Transmutation of the animalistic and instinctive tendency towards violence into intelligence,and intense and uncompromising self-awareness, self-reliance and self-control, is the decisive factor in man's leaps towards freedom and total understanding of the existential situation The Vedic and the Buddhist Seers laid the foundations for such forward leaps through Yoga. And Gandhi is, essentially, a product of this rich cultural heritage.

The problem of reform, or of bringing into being a world free from self-destructive conflicts, internal and external, is not a problem of violence, or of non-violence as a mere ideational reaction to violence. It is a problem of evolving ever-new cultural forms calculated to liberate the mind from the backlashing vestiges of animal heritage, and transmute it into a forward moving instrument of cultural refinement. This involves less and less identification with the animal or social past, and more and more free and penetrating perception of what actually is, underlying all conditioned responses to the existing challenges of the subtly changing situation. Once launched by the evolutionary forces on the voyage of culture, there is no alternative for man except opting for freedom from the known, intelligent understanding of the dynamic present and creating ever-new forms of culture enabling him to be the entire cosmic evolution become aware of itself in his person. This demands transmutation of the instinctive or natural selection into, first, a state of choiceless awareness, second, living intensely in this state of choiceless awareness, involving total negation of past or future oriented ideational movement of the mind; and, third, understanding of the dynamics of existence through pure perception. It is this process that spontaneously flowers into action charged with creative energy.

This is how Gandhi, confronted with a new challenge in 1919-20, found himself in a state of total negation of the past-oriented choice-making tendency, which of itself exploded into a negative action in the form of 'Non-violent non-cooperation' with the *status quo*. And it is

this negative action which carried with it such an intense charge of creative energy that it resulted in a new break-through, undermining the very foundations of the Establishment. This, to my mind, is the most significant contribution made by Gandhi to the culture of humanity as a whole.

This contribution is not just of a local or temporal importance. It is of global and timeless significance If the "Cultural Animal" is ever to become a 'Cultured Man,' men all over the world will have to study deeply and dispassionately 'The Phenomenon of Gandhi' from a *cultural* angle in the same way as Biologists and Anthropologists have studied the "The Phenomenon of Man" from the *natural* angle. This study will have to be undertaken not at the level of opinions and logical argumentation but at the exsitential level in which the peripheral and conformist or non-conformist aspects of human life become irrelevant and the forces of a break-through in the Establishment, leading up to a more free and creative form of culture, becomes the central theme of inquiry. Such an inquiry demands not a fragmentary approach but an approach that starts with the being of man as a whole in the context of the natural or existential order of being From this point of view, the title given to this book "The Integral Revolution" has a good deal of significance

This book is written by a young lady dedicated to the work of furthering the cause that was dear to Gandhi. It is an attempt to present Gandhi's teachings in a form acceptable to the academic world. And the fact that this thesis has been approved by the Banaras Hindu University indicates that it has succeeded in its main intention Such essays, however, naturally suffer from self-imposed limitations which often hinder a vital understanding of the teachings emanating from a very complex personality of Gandhi's eminence and uniqueness. Even so, this is a well-documented thesis and as such should be able to kindle in the heart of interested readers a desire to know more about Gandhi and his teachings This introduction is mainly intended to furnish in brief the vital background out of which the teachings of Gandhi took shape. They were expressions of his tensely living personality responding to the ups and downs of the socio-political situation, and answering a variety of questions shot at him by Indians and foreigners and the representatives of the Establishment against which he was fighting in his own unprecedented and unique way.

It is hoped that this brief introduction will be of some help to a right understanding of Gandhi's message to the modern world, at present full of the foul air of violence which, along with its counterpart, the massive ecological pollution on a global scale, has begun to threaten the very survival of man as a civilised being, and which may wipe out *homo sapiens* from this planet, unless the urgent need for a radical transformation of the human mind, symbolised by Gandhi, is realised and acted upon before it is too late.

Rajghat Fort,
Varanasi.
September, 1970.

P. Y. Deshpande

PREFACE

Here is an attempt at presenting the philosophy—underlying the country-wide movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave in India for realising the ideal of Sarvodaya—the all-round well-being of all. The Sarvodaya thought has taken shape and has developed itself into various facets in and through the struggle for political independence as well as economic and social justice. The Sarvodaya leaders live as 'practical idealists' and think more or less in terms of action. I have tried to give a comprehensive statement of the philosophical implications of the Sarvodaya endeavour to redress human suffering. Here it is elucidated how Sarvodaya is a philosophy of universal approach and that, as such, it has a universal appeal No human problem in modern times is confined to a particular region or country. In fact, the whole human world is in search of some fundamental cure of its maladies. The Sarvodaya experiments in setting the human affairs aright in India may, therefore, serve as guide-posts for other countries as well.

Though the philosophy of Sarvodaya can be said to have emerged in a particular historical setting and as an answer to a categorical demand of time, it has not come into being as a reaction to the circumstances or any particular thought. It is an independent and whole thought possessing significance for all time It rests on the eternal values of Truth and Love which are the twin expressions of the fundamental unity of Life. The understanding of the fundamental unity of Life is the culmination of the spiritual experience of humanity. The contribution of the Sarvodaya thought lies in developing the logical consequences of this unity. It has sought to apply spiritual values to each and every sphere of human life Consequentially, it stands as the philosophy of spiritual revolution. It symbolises the strivings of enlightened individuals to transform the present human conditions into the all-round well-being of all human beings

I have tried to show how the Sarvodaya thought and action have benefited from the reforms and revolutions of the past ages in different countries. It has tried to avoid the pit-falls and dangers which have befallen the past generations. Sarvodaya thought considers life as a

whole. Accordingly, it recognises that to limit the revolution to the sphere of either the Social, the political or the economic is to treat the human problem piecemeal. Basically, all human problems are spiritual, and they should be treated integrally. It has been pointed out here that the philosophy of Sarvodaya is a philosophy of integral revolution.

Such a revolution works through the educative process. Though life is one whole, its expressions are many-fold and for the sake of convenience education proceeds on double lines. Internally, it helps individuals to purify their inner being. And externally, it tries to change the institutional set-up of the current society. In fact, the change in the content of consciousness leads to the desired change in the context of social living. Actually, both the processes work together, and quite often they intermingle. The Sarvodaya educational scheme and the mass movements are intended to actualise the transformed individual in the transformed society.

The Sarvodaya thinkers generally apply pragmatic tests to their political and socio-economic revolutionary experiments. It is a commendable feature of any movement to check and tally its consequences and results. Some critics also judge the merits or demerits of these movements quantitatively. Here there is no such attempt at assessing the success or failure of the Sarvodaya movement. The merit of a revolutionary process that is mainly qualitative need not be tested quantitatively in a work on philosophy. An integral revolution is a perpetual revolution, its success or failure is the success or failure not of a band of social workers and thinkers, but of humanity at large.

Dr. T. R. V. Murti has been very kind in guiding my studies. I am greatly indebted to him for his valuable suggestions.

Sarva Seva Sangh, **Indu Tikekar**
Rajghat,
VARANASI, U. P.
May 25, 1966

THE INTEGRAL REVOLUTION

CONTENTS

Chapter One

THE HUMAN SITUATION AND SARVODAYA

I. Sarvodaya—A Philosophy of Life

The Sarvodaya thought has emerged out of the active life of a lover of humanity. In the attempt to relieve his fellow brothers in South Africa from the inhuman treatment meted out by the Colonial government, Gandhi conceived of a new way of facing the conflicting situations in human life. It was *Satyāgraha*—(clinging to truth)—a weapon of non-violent resistance to injustices. He used the same weapon in various forms in India to enable the Indians to throw away the yoke of foreign rule. Throughout his life Gandhi devised ways and means to reform the social, political, economic and religious conditions of India, and through India of human world. All his activities and methods suggest a way of life. He called it *Sarvodaya*—an all-round development of all human beings. After his assasination in 1948, some of his co-workers and followers have been active to realise the ideal of Sarvodaya. They too have contributed to the development of Sarvodaya-thought through their strivings to meet some of the challenging situations in India.

Now, can a band of public workers be said to have evolved a complete philosophy of life ? It seems that those who are pre-eminently active in human affairs, normally fail to construct a full-fledged and logically coherent philosophical system. A system of philosophy necessarily throws light on the metaphysical, epistemological, cosmological and ethical problems, besides concerning itself with many other considerations. It involves explanations and interpretations of various sciences. And above all, it strives to present a coherent and consistent whole of all human knowledge. The Sarvodaya leaders lay no claim to such a comprehensive theory

of life. What Nirmal Kumar Bose said about Gandhi can apply to other Sarvodaya thinkers as well, " Thought and writing were always tools with him for more efficient action. "[1]

But, every human action is generally an expression of a particular attitude towards life. And attitudes have philosophical significance. Moreover, as we shall see, whatever the action of Sarvodaya leaders; there are certain basic principles and convictions underlying these. In fact, Gandhi maintained that he has only " tried to re-state old principles, "[2] valued traditionally by humanity. The way in which the country-wide movements were and are conducted by the Sarvodaya leaders reveal certain values of life. We shall have to seek the philosophical implications of these principles, convictions and values. Besides, philosophy is not concerned merely with the theoretical treatment of the meaning of life. It is equally interested in " activity "[3] or " living ". Socrates had proclaimed : 'Knowledge is virtue'. 'Knowing' necessarily leads to 'living', if that knowledge is worth the name. In the light of the understanding of values people evolve new ways of living. The Sarvodaya workers intend to transform the ways of living so as to remove all kinds of injustices. They claim to be the advocates of revolution in human life by the means of love.[4] We will have to study and examine the philosophy of their revolutionary ideology.

In order to understand the significance of Sarvodaya thought and action, it seems worthwhile to study the present human situation along with its background and problems. Such a study will eanable us, in the long run, to assess the merits or otherwise of the Sarvodaya approach to human life.

II. The Human Situation

The history of human civilization has witnessed man's struggle against nature, disease and scarcity of necessaries. But since the advent of the scientific era he has fortunately been able to get rid of the severity of these misfortunes. In the second half of the

twentieth century many compensatory measures against earthquakes, tempests, floods and deserts have been invented. Medical science has come forward to fight the diseases and pains of mind and body. Moreover, the different branches of Natural Sciences, dealing with living, dead and inanimate things, have revealed enormous knowledge about them. They have invented methods to control and transform the elements of nature. Hence " Science offers the possibility of far greater well-being for the human race than has ever been known before. "[5]

The searching mind of man has not merely crossed and controlled the earth and the oceans, it has conquered space as well. It has proved in various ways how ' knowledge is power. ' On the other hand, Psychology, Sociology and Political Science have unfolded man in himself and in Society. Through analysis these disciplines have suggested new ideals to be sought for the happiness of humanity. Thus we find that the scientific knowledge about the world and man contains in its womb the possibility of creating an all-round individual and an integrated society.

But this hopeful condition does not seem to be translated into actuality. Despite the boastful march of the different sciences indicating the achievements of humanity the twentieth century has been a victim of two world wars. With all his knowledge of the external world and the psychological analysis, man has not been able to dispense with war. The " *homo sapiens* " is no less belligerent than the wildest of beasts. What is more, their intellect and knowledge have come to help them in being worse than beasts. Not a small part but the whole of human world is suffering from, what Aldous Huxley calls in his ' Ends and Means ', " the intra-specific war "—the war among the members of the same species.

Nationalism, racialism, religion and colonialism are still meddling in human affairs, creating hot and cold wars. The wars uptill last century were at least less harmful, and confined to a small part of the world. Science has united the world and rendered it

small. Hence even small disturbance somewhere creates tension all over the world. As Arnold Toynbee records, the world-wars may be merely overtures to some supreme catastrophe we are going to bring on ourselves. This "has been made a very practical possibility of mankind's unfortunately having discovered how to tag atomic energy before we have succeeded in abolishing the institution of war."[6] The world is seen to be transformed into a vast stage on which conflicting blocks are testing their relative strength in waging wars.

The roots of this condition lie deep in the history of the last five centuries. The advent of the Industrial Revolution brought a gradual but radical change in the texture of society. It first gave rise to capitalism. The crying ills of the system developed out of the doctrine of '*laissez faire*' rendering individual workers hapless and helpless. As a reaction socialism emerged in European countries. It stood for the lofty ideal of the emancipation of the crushed and the downtrodden masses from every kind of slavery. But the alert western thinkers gave capitalism the sober form of democracies and welfare states. Socialism developed into communism and declared the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the second decade of the twentieth century the tug of war has been going on chiefly between these two ideologies, each contending for the beneficial character of its own system. It is a different matter, however, that they together had to fight the second world war with the forces of Fascism and Nazism.

III. The Problem is Spiritual

But it becomes clear that the ideological differences are being rendered superficial, when we find that new blocks are created even amidst the nations following the same ideology. The old evils of nationalism, racialism and regional vested interests still have their upper hand in world affairs, only in new garbs. Moreover, the weapons that are used by the different warring blocks

against each other are just the same. The different state-governments use the same type and similar methods of propaganda to persuade or deceive the world at large. The talk of peace and cooperation continues along with the accumulation of heavy missiles and other war equipments in the fear-ridden world.

All these are the symptoms of a sick world suffering from moral and spiritual bankruptcy.[7] Modern man has lost his moorings, his faith in supernatural powers, and has found no new principles for his guidance. The cohesive factors and the sense of togetherness in society are being disrupted by the strong currents of disintegration.[8] Poverty in the midst of plenty, slavery side by side with freedom, concentrated power over helpless and weak surrounding masses—such are the paradoxes and contradiction of our times. Man who is lost in the masses and lacks will-power and faith in reason, soon gives up thinking over matters of major importance. His scepticism leaves him a stranger to the deep-seated spiritual aspirations that give meaning to human life. A constant question keeps itself humming in his mind—'what for ?'[9]

Wilfred Wellock warns us of a similar danger—"The glorification of riches, of social status and national power has resulted in a condition of social and spiritual impoverishment, of irresponsibility and weakening moral and social sensitivity which is visibly undermining the fabric of our civilization."[10]

IV. The Way of Sarvodaya

This is the challenging situation of the present-day human world. The field for Sarvodaya work has been chosen in India. But today no nation or its problems can remain isolated. The Sarvodaya thinkers do think in terms of world context. The way they suggest for the solution of Indian problems is intended to help humanity at large. Gandhi claimed "to be a humble servant of India and humanity."[11] In what follows we shall find a sketch of the Sarvodaya ideal of man and society and the method to realise it. We

shall study, along with these, the fundamental assumptions and principles of Sarvodaya thought.

The Sarvodaya ideal stands for the all-round amelioration of all human beings. No distinction between man and man can apply to the core of human being.[12] Therefore, the well-being of humanity is an undivided whole. Irrespective of religion, class, caste, race or sex every man has a right both to physical and spiritual development.

But to think in terms of the brotherhood of man has been the teaching of many a religion. Is Sarvodaya then—only an addition to these ? Gandhi repudiated the very idea of founding a new sect or giving rise to some new ' ism '.[13] The Sarvodaya thinkers consider all religions to be imperfect expressions of Truth.[14] For Sarvodaya, to be human is enough qualification for spiritual upliftment. It grants equal spiritual rights and opportunities to all belonging to different faiths.

Spiritual well-being is in no way unconnected with man's well-being on earth. Sarvodaya considers life as a whole, undivided into social, political, economic and spiritual aspects.[15] It aims at realising Truth (Satya) and Non-violence or Love (Ahimsā) in all spheres of life.[16] Hence, no distinction is made in the way of life of spiritual aspirants (*Sadhakas*) and that of laymen.

V. Humanism and the Spiritual Approach of Sarvodaya

Man on earth is the central theme of Sarvodaya thought. It is not interested in life hereafter. As such, it comes very near the faith of Humanism. Socrates and the Buddha have been referred to as the ancient humanists who brought philosophy from Heaven to Earth. Similar seems to be the endeavour of Sarvodaya. But Humanism[17] of the modern times leaves no scope for any reference to a state beyond the human world. It recognises moral values and a sense of aesthetic union with the natural world, but it eschews all concern with spiritual values that link man with the rest of the

universe and point to the unity of all creation. This foundation of the unifying spiritual reality brings holiness to human life. 'Humanism', in this sense, is secular not 'Holy.'[18]

Sarvodaya philosophy, no doubt, emphasises the moral values at the stage of human existence. It stands supreme for individual responsibility and initiative in society. It lays stress on one's duty towards fellow-beings.[19] Moral education for the abolition of social inequalities and injustices plays an important role in the Sarvodaya educational system.

But it was for the realisation of God that Gandhi had turned towards the service of humanity.[20] The Sarvodaya thought feels compelled to concede the metaphysical ultimate Reality. The whole of human experience points to it. In acknowledging this, Sarvodaya links itself with the Indian philosophical tradition. The *Upaniṣads* speak of this non-dual character of spiritual Reality as Brahman. Seers and saints like *Śankara* and *Jñāneśvara* live and reveal its implications. This unifying Reality expresses itself in and through the things and happenings of this world.[21] Remaining, as if, behind the screen it unifies them. The differences of the material world of the senses have no real significance from the ultimate point of view. In fact, the whole of existence can be said to be sustained by Love[22] which is another name for the spring of Life or God. To be united with it, dissolving one's self-hood is the ideal of human life.[23] It is also the reason that answers the 'why' of moral life.

For Gandhi, Truth stands for this ultimate spirituality. Vinoba Bhave calls it *Parama Sāmya* (Final or Fundamental Unity and identity). The moral and spiritual principles and teachings of Sarvodaya are well expressed by Vinoba's term '*Sāmyayoga*'.[24] The art of treating everything with same reverence and love is the key to spiritual enlightenment. It is the message of the *Bhagvad Gītā*.[25] It is through the establishment of *equality* and justice on earth that the ultimate *equipoise* (*parama Sāmya*) is to be attained.[26]

This metaphysical world-view of the Sarvodaya-thought is the back-bone of the Sarvodaya social order.

VI. Faith in Human Nature

The social order that stands on the unifying principle of Reality should treat even its criminals in a special way. Gandhi declared—"I refuse to suspect human nature."[27] Given the right kind of environment and education every individual is capable of developing as a sane human being. Every one is capable of being a responsible member of a healthy society. In such a society everyone gets what one requires and works according to one's capacity. No exploitation in any form of one by the other, can find place in it. Inequalities can find no place there.[28] Injustices are eradicated from the fabric of social life.[29]

This is the language of Socialism. So far as the ultimate state of human affairs is concerned Sarvodaya stands on par with socialism.[30] But socialism treats a particular class—viz. bourgeoise—as the sole criminal party in social injustices. As such, it is to be completely eliminated, even by violent force, from the rest of humanity. The bourgeois class is incapable of radical change in its attitude, so necessary for a revolution to happen.

Is not such a division of human society into two rival classes, itself dogmatic and a breach of the ultimate law of unity? And to use violent means to crush one of the classes is morally even more harmful to the class that is saved. Gandhi said—"what is needed is not the extinction of landlords and capitalists but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer."[31] What is needed is "to educate labour to a sense of dignity,"[32] and to prepare them and the capitalists to exist only as trustees for the good of society.[33]

It is through education that the oppressed class can be awakened to the fact that to suffer injustice through weakness and inferiority complex is itself the root of misery.[34] And the remedy lies in the

elimination of lust and envy, cruelty and indifference from the minds of individuals that constitute a society. Revolution is wrought not through the agency of changed institutions, it is brought by individuals co-operating freely with one another to change the environment.

Herein comes the problem of ends and means. No good result can come out of immoral means.[35] The process from means to end is a harmonious one. Vinoba Bhave says that men have accepted the seed-and-fruit-law in the field of natural sciences but they still hesitate to admit its bearing on moral considerations. The virtues that one aspires to attain in the ideal state of society should be practised from the start. The path we trace to-day decides our tomorrow's goal. In order to build a society where peace, self-rule and justice would prevail, the means to that end should create peaceful atmosphere, and a sense of mutual trust and earnest desire to co-operate with fellow-beings. Hence, non-violence or love and compassion should alone work to bring the desirable change in society.

VII. The Ideal Social Life

Under a dictatorship individuals can have no scope or initiative; their all-round development requires freedom and opportunity. But is there any guarantee that the free individual will help society to progress ? According to Sarvodaya ideology there is no rivalry between the good of the individual and that of the society. Human good is one indivisible whole. " If one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him. "[36] If society fails, the individual suffers thereby.[37] Whenever any conflict arises it should be understood as a sign of an unhealthy element either in society or in the individual. This consideration resolves many issues concerning the mutuality of man and society. To believe that 'self-interest' is the only incentive to good behaviour is to take away the very foundation of fellow-feeling and mutual help.

This also shows why the utilitarian principle of 'the greatest good of the greatest number' is a defective one.[38] In a healthy human society, not even the smallest section should suffer injustice or illfare. Only a society in which not only the minority but the old and disabled ones feel secure and happy,[39] can alone guarantee the desirable end—the greatest good of all.

In an ideal society each man is equal to the rest of the individuals.[40] Each one is morally awakened, and is physically healthy and wholly satisfied. People need no supervision in social, economic or political life, since violence in the form of exploitation suppression or supremacy finds no place where love reigns. Men are induced to work not by the fear of law or punishment but by mutual love and understanding. "There is then a state of enlightened anarchy."[41] "I have described it as Ramaraj, i.e. Sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority."[42] "But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that government is best which governs the least."[43] *This is the ideal of true democracy.*

According to Sarvodaya, since each for all and all for each is the basic principle,[44] all economic institutions should be neighbour-oriented.[45] It is the principle of *Svadeśī* (production for the use of neighbourhood). Technology may come to help man, but it should not replace machine in his place. If individual loses himself in a centralised huge society, mass production-system is no boon.[46] It leads to enemployment in one's own society—and exploitation of other communities. Sarvodaya suggests de-centralised, agro-centric and small manageable communities[47] wherein the individual can have his say in every day matters. These will be the centres of conscientious and responsible citizens.

VIII. Satyagraha—A Weapon Against Injustice

But how is this picture to be realised? Gandhi called himself a practical idealist. Inspired chiefly by Ruskin, Tolstoy[48] and the

Gītā he launched upon the task of the actualisation of his ideals. When circumstances offered a challenge, he set forth to correct the wrongs. In South Africa in 1906 he started the first satyāgraha movement for the removal of unjust laws. He equally emphasized that the way to remove injustice, whether political, social or economic, is not through violation of the oppressor. "While we may attack measures and system, we may not, must not attack men".[49] This was his demand. As the same spirituality is the true core of the oppressor, it is through an appeal to that inner consciousness that he can be lifted from his lowly level.[50] A *Satyāgrahī* is one who insists on the realisation of the truth as he sees it. He is not infallible. He may not see the whole truth in a particular matter. He is, therefore, eager to understand what others say in matters of moral and social importance. He is ready to learn from them.[51] " There must be no trace of compulsion in our acts. We must not be impatient ". Hence, what he sees he expresses politely, discusses frankly and if he differs he suffers himself to reveal the truth to the other party. Not through inflicting pain on others but through self-suffering the Satyāgrahī wins them over.[52]

And purer the character of the individual through moral discipline, nearer is the attainment of the end for which he is striving.[53] The vows of Truth (*Satya*), Non-violence (*Ahimsā*), Non-possession (*Aparigraha*), Chastity (*Brahmacharya*) and others are to be observed if the satyāgrahī wants to equip himself for the task of removing injustice.

Gandhi developed the technique of Satyāgrahī through his various nation-wide movements organised for the attainment of the freedom for India. He trained hundreds of Satyāgrahīs to fight the slavery imposed by the British imperialism. He provided a moral substitute of war. Today, making the diagnosis of human disease needs no special qualification, but it requires a genius who can suggest a remedy. What the human world needs most is a proper method and a technique of resistance and the removal of evil and

injustice without losing the balance of peace and progress in society. This is an era that provides ample proof of what the Buddha maintained, that hatred begets hatred and violent war provides more causes for still more violent war. The world is thirsty for peace. Hence, the method of satyāgraha as preached and practised by Gandhi is hailed by many thinkers of the East and the West. This is what Joan Bondurant, in her ' Conquest of violence ', calls the most valuable contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the modern age.[54]

It is, no doubt, true that a new and assuring technique of arriving at a peaceful solution and settlement of problems and disputes has been suggested by Gandhi's experiments in Satyagraha. In order that the other party should understand the truth in a particular matter, Gandhi says, a constant appeal should be made to his reason through argument and to his heart through self-suffering.[55] Even the stoniest of hearts should melt before the soul-force expressed through the demonstration of Satyagraha.[56] But a question arises, how does the process of understanding begin ? If there is no psychological preparedness (mental set) to grasp truth, can the action of a satyagrahi affect the mind of the oppressor ? In a particular situation due to the pressure of circumstances the oppressor might be compelled to behave in a changed way, but does that mean that a genuine change in his attitude has been wrought ? It seems that so long as Satyāgraha is only a substitute and equivalent of war,[57] that is to say, so long as there remain two opposing blocks with opposing interests in the process of the solution of a dispute, violence, at least, in subtle form will remain. It is not possible to eschew the very idea of resistance from the technique of Satyāgraha ?

It is perhaps for this reason that Vinoba speaks of developing Satyāgraha into finer and subtler forms.[58] After Gandhi's assassination, Vinoba and some others accepted the responsibility of finding new paths for the non-violent solutions of problems in free

India. By giving a new turn and meaning to the concept of Satyāgraha in the changed circumstances he strives to realise the ideal of true democracy or *Grāma-Rājya*. He suggests that there need not be *resistance* (though non-violent) in Satyāgraha, there should be *assistance* with[59] the slaves of the old and obsolete order, so as to help them realease themselves from the shackles of the unjust order. Revolutionary transformation of social order, according to him, as also according to Gandhi, can be achieved not through massacre, not even through the legal force in democracy but through compassion (*Karuṇā*).[60]

Vinoba has chosen the problem of equitable land-distribution. He has arrived at a new and comprehensive phase of *Grāmadān* (Decision of the villagers to pull their income and work together as a unit). It is, in fact, a process of educating the people in the ways of co-operative living based on mutual consideration. Dhirendra Majumdar[61] states that it is through the education for life and through living and at all levels that the new society can be realised.

Gandhi visualised a world-federation of friendly interdependent states.[62] For true international co-operation all nation-states should be free to join the federation. The values of co-operation, understanding and mutual trust that should sustain the smaller communities, should also serve as the guiding principles in international affairs, if war is to keep away. Vinoba maintains that spiritual understanding (*Vedānta*), scientific approach and methods (*Vijṇāna*) and trust (*Viśvāsa*) are the three necessaries for peaceful co-existence.[63] Instead of emphasising differences and discrepancies, it is essential that similarities and agreements should be stressed. For this the spirit of synthesis (*Samanvaya*) should be fostered.

It is not possible to judge the success or failure of a particular movement in social life, when it is still in operation. In this thesis, we are going to analyse and examine the basic tenets of Sarvodaya thought. We shall see whether the contentions put forth by Sarvodaya leaders stand the test of logic. The world of values evolved

in the Sarvodaya ideology should also be metaphysically reviewed. Again we shall have to investigate and evaluate the psychological and moral implications of Satyāgraha as a revolutionary technique. In the following chapters we will carry out in detail the theoretical study of the Sarvodaya thought.

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Chapter Two

THE CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

I. The Meaning of 'Sarvodaya'

Words stand for certain concepts. They try to convey the content of these concepts. As the concepts develop and gather deeper and wider meaning, the words, though remaining outwardly the same, represent the progressively enriched concepts. This is the case with the word—*Sarvodaya*. This word and its generally understood meaning is almost as old as the perennial philosophy of India. Today it represents an array of different meanings. The content of *Sarvodaya*, as it stands today, has not been developed by any theoreticians or logicians. Some active social workers have given the word its present augmented meaning through their strivings to better the conditions of humanity. That is why, while unfolding the concept of Sarvodaya, it will be inevitable to refer to the incidents and events in the lives of these Sarvodaya leaders and the society in which they lived, so far as these incidents refer to the concept of Sarvodaya. It is evident that the truth of a concept is and should be impersonal and universal. But it can be conceded that concepts get crystallised, in some cases at least, only after the abstract universals have their first outings through particular individuals and concrete happenings.

The word 'Sarvodaya' is a compound Sanskrit word comprising *Sarva* (all) and *Udaya* (rising)—meaning allround well-being or good of all. This 'all' includes all living beings. We find the Vedas praying for the wellbeing of even quadrupeds along with bipeds (*Śam no astudvipāde Śam no astu catuṣpāde*).[1] They wished prosperity to all. There was an explicit consciousness on the part of the Vedic Rishis about the all-inclusive nature of well-being. That is why there is always an emphasis on 'we' instead

of on 'I' (*Vayam syāma patayo rayīṇam*).[2] The lofty aspiration of these people reveals itself in the wellknown verse : "May all be happy, all be whole and healthy ; may all attain good ends ; none should meet misery !" (*Sarvepi Sukhinah Santu, Sarve Santu nirāmayāh, Sarve bhadrāni paśyantu, mā kascit dukhamapnuyāt*). The earnest desire for realization of final contentedness for the whole of creation has been the characteristic of Indian spiritual leaders of thought throughout the *Upaniṣadic* period. The end of misery and the attainment of happiness and wholeness in body and mind can be said to be the ideal of the striving mankind since the dawn of conscious aspirations.

The word 'Sarvodaya' itself was used by one Jain teacher—*Samantabhadra*—some time before the Christian era, while praising the godly spiritual leader of the Jains : "Your's are the sacred waters of the wellbeing of all that end the miseries for all times !" (*Sarvāpadām Antakaram nirantam Sarvodayam Tīrthamidam Tavaiva*.[3]

In the *Gītā* a similar idea is expressed in the twelfth chapter, when the Lord characterises the *yogins* who attain to the God through rigorous disciplines of body and mind, and worship of the unmanifest, by saying that they indulge themselves in the wellbeing of all creation (*Sarvabhūtahite ratāh*). The wise ones, according to the Gītā, are not partial to the good and just to the virtuous alone ; they consider all creation with the same respectful outlook, irrespective of moral and natural distinctions (*Śuni caiva Śvapāke ca panditāh Samadarśinah*).[4]

Uptill now the term 'Sarva' refers to all creation. It is natural for man, limited as he is in his strength, to have the sphere of his influential relationship limited to the human world. In fact for a man, living in society, his neighbour is the representative of mankind. That is why the Bible commands : "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[5] Love is the fountain of activities that spring out for the betterment of all. Greed and hatred evaporate away in the atmosphere of love that carries one to the ideal

universal brotherhood. The New Testament God is conceived to be benefiting both the virtuous and the sinful because of his compassionate fatherly heart.[6]

In this sense all the great religions can be said to be echoing the idea of 'Sarvodaya'. The Buddha is not even willing to enter the blissful state of *Nirvāṇa* until all attain to salvation. It seems that the religions point to the key solution of the problem of misery that arises due to the false distinctions of 'mine' and 'thine'. Unless and until the boundary between 'I' and the 'World' breaks down and the well-being of the individual is seen to be inevitably resulting with and through the well-being of all, there can be no end to misery.

II. The Roots of 'Sarvodaya'

Gandhi was very much impressed by this universal appeal of religions. But he was equally conscious of the contradictions apparent in the teachings and the practice of the followers of these religions.[7] The colourful history of mankind reveals how the teachings of great religions have been kept at a respectable distance from the sphere of everyday life and problems of humanity. It was the life-mission of Gāndhī to unite the two spheres of spiritual and worldly life—and to base human life on the sound foundations of Truth and Love.

His childhood impressions of Vaiśnavism—the tolerant sect of Hinduism—and of some of the lives of benevolent *Jains* have had much to do with the idea of Sarvodaya that was developed in his mind in his later life. A *Gujarāti* song deeply imprinted a message on his heart; it formed the foundation stone of the Sarvodaya according to Gāndhī. The song says :—

> "But the truly noble
> know all men as one
> And return with gladness
> good for evil done."[8]

III. The Impact of Ruskin and Tolstoy

While he was in England and in South Africa, Gandhi made his acquaintance with the world religions—Hinduism, Christianity, Mohammadism and Zoroastrianism.[9] They strengthened in him the consciousness of the spiritual aspect of the wellbeing of man. But still Gandhi was not fully aware of the social and economic implications of the spiritual conviction that the good of the individual is contained in the good of the society. It was Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' that aroused him, so to say, from a sort of slumber and directed the way to the resolution of the dichotemy of religions and business life. The title of Ruskin's book 'Unto This Last' refers to a story in the Bible.[10] The owner of a vineyard hires some workers who come at four different times in a day. And even when the last batch of workers were so late that they could work only for an hour, he gave the same wage—one penny each—to all. Naturally, a worker in the first batch complained for such injustice. The lord of the vineyard replies, "I will give unto this Last, even as unto thee." This was real justice in the eyes of the owner. For such ones, as Jesus had said, the Kingdom of heaven was open. Ruskin chose this story to relate the concealed economic remedy in it for the fast worsening condition of the workers in the industrialised countries. When the age-old moral foundation of the social order was rendered obsolete by the advent of the 'new science,' justifying the Industrial Revolution and its co-effects, Ruskin sensed "the terrific call of human crime for resistance, and of human misery for help."[11] He appealed to the conscience of the self-complacent wealthy who were indulging in an "exaggerated appetite for solid advantage."[12] And the *pseudo science* of modern economics supported by them by carrying the banner of the principle of *laissez faire* and shouting the slogan of the 'survival of the fittest'. Ruskin who passionately attacked these antihuman principles demanded revolutionary changes in the economic and moral structure of the European society.[13]

The 'magic spell' of this book compelled Gandhi to change his way of life. He translated the book in Gujarāti calling it 'Sarvodaya'—using the word for the first time. The nearest translation of the tiltle 'Unto This Last' can be said to be *antyodaya*—the wellbeing of those who come last, who lie at the lowest strata of society and are, therefore, downtrodden. But the principle strung through the Biblical story is that of equality and justice. All human beings irrespective of their capacity to work and notwithstanding the difference in their age and sex are to be prized equally. This dissociation between the work and the wages and the dissention between the laws of supply and demand and the number of workers in industry are a necessity for the economic welfare of all in society. What is more, it is a spiritual 'must' for the moral uplift of human beings.

In his *Autobiography* Gandhi sums up the teachings of Ruskin's book in the following way.[14]

A. : The good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

B. : The lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

C. : The life of a labourer, i. e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

Consistently enough Gandhi is not for luxury or riches in society. If a society is to be in friendship with the whole of human world, it should not engage in amassing riches. This is because money in wrong hands may, as a result of covetiousness, help to produce "gun powder which makes havoc among its manufacturers as well as among its victims.[15] Real wealth that a society should possess is the wealth of 'life'. In Ruskin's words: "......the true veins of wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in Flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in producing, as many as possible, full-breathed, bright-eyed and

happy-hearted human creatures."[16] Such abundant life can be had by the "cultivators of land who work in innocent contentment,"[17] and by the craftsman who produce useful articles for men in society. Such works "enable men to perfect the function of their own lives to the utmost and also to exercise a helpful influence over the lives of the others".[18] Thus the principle of bread labour bestows economic and social justice and culturally enriches human life. It removes the sting of evil in competitive and acquisitive society.

Afterwards Gandhi showed that the principle of Bread Labour is also one of the messages of the Gītā.[19] In the words of the Gita it is Yajna or Sacrifice that keeps society going uninterrupted. Gandhi valued the *Varna Dharma* of the ancient India as the supreme principle providing noncompetitive basis to society.[20] He attacked vehemently the western civilization in his "Hind-Swaraj." "This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion,"[21] he declares. Again he contends "......the people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life."[22] While our Indian ancestors knew that "the more we indulge our passions the more unbridled they become".[23] Gandhi states, "civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions."[24] And Gandhi considered manual work as one of the important means of controlling passions.[25] Bodily labour is enjoined to all people belonging to different *Varnas.*[26]

It was Tolstoy who impressed upon Gandhi's mind the importance of Bread Labour.[27] But to Tolstoy goes also the credit of winning Gandhi back to the creed of non-violence. When he "was passing through a severe crisis of scepticism and doubt," Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of God is within you" confirmed Gandhi's belief in Ahimsa.[28] Tolstoy guided this worthy disciple throughout the latter's struggle for justice and equality against the

mighty British Empire that wielded all violent might to crush the feeble cry for freedom. Tolstoy who, like Gandhi himself, was impressed by Ruskin's "Unto This Last" and its diagnosis of modern social disease, firmly believed in non-violence as Jesus taught it. Hence, for him resistance of evil by evil was ruled out for ever. In old age he had embraced the simple and non-violent way of life as a true Christian at the cost of health, family affection and recognition by Church. Till his last breath he represented the way of love that alone rightly works for the redress of evil in society. This noble life and the Biblical motto "Resist not him that is evil" became the source of inspiration in Gandhi's future life. In the animal-kingdom 'struggle for existence' goes on and therefore the law 'might is right' reigns there. But man is not merely animal, he has divinity in him. Like Tolstoy Gandhi also believed that "it is more natural for men to be guided by reason and conscience with which they are endowed than to submit slavishly to people who arrange wholesale murder."[29] War is an invitation to a series of evils which is more disastrous than the inequities for the removal of which the war is fought. Destruction through violent war is not the way to the construction of the new world wherein the crushed and castaway humanity can breathe happily. The Tolstoy Farm of Gandhi was a living monument of Tolstoy. It was not merely a shelter and source of living to the Satyāgrahīs in South Africa, it stood for the principles that prompted Gandhi and his fellow Satyāgrahīs to give a tough fight for justice. The science of Satyāgraha was cradled in Tolstoy's concept of non-violence.

IV. Non-Violence Leading to Spiritual Reality

Even before Ruskin and Tolstoy, Rajachandra aroused spiritual quest in Gandhi.[30] Through him Jainism became a powerful influence in Gandhi's life. Non-violence in its subtle and profound aspects was revealed to him by *Jainism* and later by the *Yoga-sūtras* of Patanjali. Unless non-violence becomes flesh and blood in

individual's life he cannot realise the ultimate truth of life. Jainism enjoins five precepts :[31]

i) Not to injure any living being—(*Ahimsā*)
ii) Not to utter falsehood—(*Satya*)
iii) Not to steal—(*Asteya*)
iv) To lead a celibate life—(*Brahmacarya*)
v) To renounce the world—(*Aparigraha*)

The *Yoga-sūtras* call these negative precepts '*Yamas*'.[32] There are five '*Niyamas*'[33] added to them—they are positive in character.

i) Purity (*Śauca*)
ii) Contentment (*Santośa*)
iii) Fortitude (*Tapas*)
iv) Devotion to God (*Īśvara Praṇidhana*)

The principle of non-violence is conceived to be the basis of all *yamas*. Patanjali reveals its positive meaning in one of the *Sūtras*[33a] by declaring that hatred disappears as soon as non-violence reaches perfection in the *yogi*. It takes the form of positive love for all creation (*Ahimsā Pratiṣthāyām tat Sannidhau Vairatyāgah*).

These precepts, in a somewhat altered form, and a few more, became the eleven vows of Gandhi's Ashramas.[34] He gave these new content so that they could serve as the virtues of sound social relationships. They were individual's virtues for spiritual salvation and served as the pre-requisities of an ideal Satyagrahi.

Gandhi was a man of action. As a spiritual reference book or a dictionary, the Gītā gave him the necessary guidance to achieve self-lessness in action.[35] According to him, non-attachment, while doing one's duty is the message of the Gītā.[36] Like all other Hindu scriptures self-realisation is the subject of the Gītā. But it was to show " the most excellent way to attain self-realisation "[37] that the Gītā was written. " The matchless remedy is renunciation of fruits of action. "[38] The worship of God through such detached actions—the life of an active devotee—became Gandhi's ideal. His

God pervaded the whole of the cosmos. Nothing but God existed for him. The opening verse of the *Iśāvāsyopaniṣad* truly shows what the nature of the ultimate Reality was to Gandhi. It says "God pervades every thing that is to be found in this universe down to the tiniest atom."[39]

V. The Basic Assumptions of Satyagraha

This all-pervading Reality is the uniting force behind the manifest universe.[40] It is the only truth of life. To one who realises the ultimate truth, or God, Love—the positive aspect of non-violence—alone serves as the principle of action. Violence is against the grain of the realised truth. Besides, Gandhi believed that it is not given to man that he can realise the whole Truth so long as he is bound with the bodily existence.[41] Only partial glimpses of the sun of Truth are attainable to man. He cannot, therefore, assume infallibility in his vision of Truth and be arrogant enough to ignore what others have to say about it. On the contrary, he becomes humility incarnate and is ready to grasp whatever comes as a new fact of truth through the experience of others. This is even more true of the relative truths of everyday issues in human society. Those who hold different opinions are to be given due consideration. Here Gandhi is a *Syā-dvādin*. It is a natural corollary of his devotion to truth and non-violence.[42] It should serve as the basic principle of the democratic society. Thus whatever is felt as evil should be discarded after the mutual understanding amon the people holding different opinions convinces all of them about the evil character of the thing to be discarded. Any violent attack on the opponent for the removal of evil in society takes away the opportunity of spiritual uplift of both the parties. Instead it is better to suffer oneself to open the eyes of the other party. Evil exists only at the human level.[43] Its removal is natural since all creation is, at least unconsciously, striving towards the ultimate Reality[44] that sustains no evil. The best way to remove the seed

of evil is through arousing the understanding of that oneness by means of non-cooperation with the evil[45] and through self-suffering. Socrates and Jesus Christ were to Gandhi the perfect Sātyāgrahis in human history.

In the modern world the technique of Satyāgraha as a method of resisting evil by peaceful means was the distinguishing mark of Gandhi as a pacifist. He does not merely condemn war but suggests a positive way out of the wretched state of slavery and persecution. For him to succumb to slavery in the name of non-resistance to evil was a greater evil than violent resistance to it.[46] Violence was a spiritual crime to Gandhi, but cowardice and heedlessness to injustice was even worse than that. And he who identifies himself with all, could not think of observing passivity in the face of cruel persecution and inhuman suppression of thousands of human beings who are rendered materially and spiritually paupers. Of course, it need not be emphasised that Gandhi prized non-violent resistance above all methods of redressing humanity from injustices. It alone carries the possibility of moral and spiritual awakening of the other party. Satyāgraha in this sense is not against some human beings who are the instruments in the hands of evil forces. It is an attack on evil itself.[47] That is why every care is taken, in the technique of Satyāgraha, to cause the least offence or injury to the other party. In South Africa Gandhi first started his Satyāgraha movement by breaking the unjust law imposed by the Colonial Government. It was civil disobedience. Thoreau had written a booklet on that subject. But Gandhi came to know about it only after the movement had gathered full momentum.[48] While addressing his American friends in 1942, he gratefully mentions " .. ..you have given me a teacher in Thoreau, who furnished me through his essay on the 'Duty of Civil Disobedience' scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa.[49] Gandhi as a civil-resister was a firm believer in law and order. Hence, only unjust laws were to be opposed according to him. Lawlessness

was never encouraged by him. Obedience to moral law and discipline was the prime demand in his satyāgraha movement.[50]

During Gandhi's more than thirty year's stay in India Gandhian Satyāgraha took different forms. Sometimes it achieved its definite objective and sometimes it failed. But it failed, according to Gandhi, not because there was any defect in the principle. Gandhi attributed failure to the technique of Satyagraha and to those who practised Satyāgraha.[51] His faith in the instrument was always bright and firm. Even when he witnessed the tragic events of the communal riots he affirmed, "......every worthy object can be achieved by the use of Satyāgraha. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force."[52]

VI. The Spiritualization of Politics

When he was about to enter the field of Indian struggle for political freedom, his guide was the welknown Moderate Leader G. K. Gokhale. Gandhi received full active support from his political guru in his non-violent movement in South Africa. Though Gokhale had disapproved of the booklet "Hind Swaraj" calling it "crude and hastily conceived,"[53] Gandhi derived moral strength from Gokhale's emphasis on spiritualising politics. According to him, Gokhale "believed that political activities could lead to salvation and freedom only if they were based on religion or in other words spiritualised."[54]

In fact, Gandhi had turned to politics only because, as he himself emphasised, he was a man of religion, and looked upon life as a whole.[55] He conceived political freedom as a stepping stone leading towards real 'swaraj' for the masses of India.[56] To him "Swaraj really means self-control."[57] And, "If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler".[58] Such anarchism was his political ideal. But according to him an ideal was never fully

realised.[59] Hence, democratic self-government that represents free adult citizens was supported by him.[60] But Indian government should imitate neither Britain, Russia, Italy, nor any other country. "They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours".[61]

He had always entertained the suspicion that concentrated and centralised governmental power would be proved coercive to the people in general. He wrote, "The state represents violence in a concentrated and organised form."[62] He was, therefore, all for decentralised village-republics.[63] Through them people can "regulate and control authority" and can keep it away from abuse.[64]

In such a well-regulated society there will be equality, both economic and social. He emphatically maintained "*Swarāj* cannot be attained by the erection of huge factories as they stand for exploitation".[65] Riches that comes by untruthful and violent means poisons human society.[66] In his Swarāj, every one gets enough according to one's requirements. In order that this should be possible he refuses to allow "mass production."[67] The technical meaning of mass-production is "production by the fewest possible number through the aid of highly complicated machinery."[68] He adds, "My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions."[69] Such a decentralised system alone will be able to feed all.

VII. The Concepts of Trusteeship and Egalitarian Society

This was the picture of future India according to Gandhi. But what were the wealthy people to do who occupied key positions in economy and politics : Gandhi came forward with his novel theory of trusteeship. To him state-ownership suggested by socialism was no remedy. State-machinery has no soul. Individuals possess soul and can be approached for justice if problems demand it.[70] Moreover, "when an individual had more than his

proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God's people.[71] "Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption."[72] According to Gandhi "No other theory is compatible with non-violence".[73] If individuals accept this theory, possession will lose its central position along with its obnoxious character in society. What one possesses should have value only in so far as one's possessions contribute to the amelioration of the entire society. Trusteeship in this sense is the social version of the principle of non-possession in individual's spiritual life.

For a non-competitive and co-operative economic order Gandhi values the Hindu institution of *Varṇa*. According to him the varṇa dharma follows the law of heredity.[74] "*Varnadharma* defines man's mission on this earth......It restricts him, therefore, for the purpose of holding body and soul together to the occupation of his forefathers."[75] But one *Varṇa* is not higher in social status than any other. In the ideal social order "all are absolutely equal, equal because all are the creatures of that Creator."[76]

Consistently Gandhi raised his voice against the caste-restrictions for interdining and intermarriages.[77] But above all he denounced wholeheartedly the distinction between touchables (*Savarṇas*) and untouchables (*aspṛśyas*). It was a serious blot on Hindu society.[78] For hundreds of years the untouchables were serving society without attempting to rise obove their sorrowful plight. But no society is fit for freedom so long as a section of it suffers under the rule of the majority. Gandhi used the weapon of satyāgraha at Vaikom in South India to hasten the reform, and even staked his life to undo the separate electorates based on untouchability. It was during the struggle for freedom that the

IX. Non-violence Put to Test

In judging the results of his schemes and principles Gandhi was a pragmatist. He had a concrete objective to be realised. In every satyāgraha movement he kept a definite and actual issue before the people. The nation did get certain results in particular situations. But it is feasible to deduce desirable, tangible and permanent results from an abstract creed on a large scale : It has been pointed out that human society has progressed in terms of non-violence since the dawn of social life.[84] Even admitting this one may be assailed by serious doubt regarding the probability of psychological revolutionary transformation on a nation-wide scale through the means of mass-movements. In fact, the Indian National Congress had never accepted Gandhi's philosophy of life. The national leaders had accepted his non-violent path only as a policy. His religious faith and his emphasis on the constructive programme did not attract their serious attention. That is why his proposal to merge the Congress into a Laka-Sevaka-Sangha found no support in Congress. On the other hand, after witnessing the ghastly communal riots in 1946-47, Gandhi genuinely felt during his last months that there was something wrong with his use of the technique of Satyāgraha—"What has, however, clearly happened in my case is the discovery that in all probability there is a vital defect in my technique of the working of non-violence."[85] He further adds, "Failure of my technique of non-violence causes no loss of faith in non-violence itself. On the contrary, that faith is, if possible, strengthened by the discovery of a possible flaw in the technique."[86]

We shall have to study what some of his co-workers and followers have to say and do about the ideal of Sarvodaya. ●

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Chapter Three

THE CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA (*CONTINUED*)

I. Sarvodaya Samaj

With Gandhi's assassination a very powerful and active influence in Indian Society came to a close. Those who had worked with him for independence did not form a coherent group. Some assumed governmental power. Some formed the opposition party. Some took to the Khadi and Village-Industry work. And some who had firm faith in Gandhian Constructive Programme as suggesting a means for socio-economic revolution started thinking about the method and technique of realising such revolution in the changed circumstances.

In the international field also Gandhian discovery of the new technique of Satyāgraha became well known. And it has impressed many freedom movements in the world. Particularly Dr. Martin Luther King—the Negro leader—has been deeply influenced by the thought and technique of Satyāgraha.[1] He succeeded in employing this technique to remove some of the racial discriminations in the southern States of the U. S. A. The whole of the Gandhian philosophy of life has not yet found many supporters in the international sphere. In India the governmental foreign policy of neutrality and peaceful co-existence and secularism bear the impression of Gandhian thought. Jawaharlal Nehru—the first Prime-minister of India—can be said to be representing those in power. He believed in the efficiency and moral superiority of the Satyāgraha technique,[2] but could not think of relying on it as the sole defence force against invasions.[3] He had a 'dislike' for the 'religious' element introduced in Politics by Gandhi,[4] and he instinctively rejected the philosophy of 'asceticism'[5] and Gandhi' soutlook regarding civilization.

But there is a group of some devoted followers and co-workers of Gandhi who value the philosophy of life advocated by him. They thought it necessary to revive the spirit of dedication for the construction of a new society on Gandhian lines. At Sevāgrāma near Wardhā they founded the *Sarvodaya Samāja* in 1948. The objective of this *Samāja* (society) is put forward as follows : To do one's utmost to shape a new society, on the foundations of Truth and Non-violence. In this society there would be no castes, and no opportunity to exploit others, in which, again, both individual and community find freedom to fulfil themselves.[6] The *Samāja* is a loose organisation with no strict discipline. It has been conceived for the natural co-operation of those who believe in the employment of pure means for the welfare of all.[7] Vinoba says that it is not an attempt at building a political party or at creating a new sect that believes in the Gandhian thought.[8] Party and politics are not considered to be the right means of creating the new world, since power offers a magical chair that determines to a great extent the activities of one who accepts it. Sects are generally motivated by limited vested interests and therefore become unable to resolve the problems to the satisfaction of all.[9] The word *Samāja* reveals, according to Vinoba Bhave, an all-embracing character and the prefix ' Sarvodaya ' makes the *Samāja* entirely catholic.[10] It does not stand as a controlling body, it thus eschews the possibility of organizational violence, solely relying on mutual understanding and voluntary cooperation.[11]

It was felt necessary to state some precepts in the form of suggestions for guidance.[12] It has been wished that these should not be taken to be hard and fast ritualistic rules, nor should they be used as criteria to judge others. The precepts reflect Gandhi's ashrama rules.

i) To ply the spinning wheel in order to reveal the dignity of labour and the principle of bread-labour.

ii) To insist, so far as possible, on the use of things manufactured in village and cottage industry. This is not a campaign

against machine but a protest against its obnoxious use in the modern society.

iii) To use cow-milk while at home. This is also to encourage use of animal, instead of machine, for agriculture and other necessities.

iv) To look after one's sanitation. The observance of this rule is intended to do away with caste and class distinctions in society and reveals the equal value of all sorts of work.

v) The rebuilding of Indian society as the immediate task of Sarvodaya Samaja, naturally, determines its working. For a healthy social order unity and mutual understanding are of fundamental importance. Language is one of the important means of joining the hearts of people through communication. Hence, it is suggested that the workers of *Sarvodaya Samāja* should learn at least four languages.

It has been emphasised that the actual form and the details of the working of the society do not matter so much as the fundamental conviction that the *Samāja* stands[13] for the wellbeing of all. The utilitarian doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number is diametrically opposed to this belief.[14] If the good of the majority stands opposed to or even apart from that of the minority, it is no good at all. The ultimate human good is not subjective, differing from individual to individual, it is uniform in nature.[15] In family we get the example of selfless service that keeps an eye on the good of all its members. Hence, the ideal society will incorporate these family relations.[16]

Believers in Sarvodaya advocate the faith in human rationality. Reason is an outstanding characteristic of man. His strength lies in rational understanding and not in physical power.[17] If the violent way of life and exploitative habits of individuals are to change one should start with an appeal to reason through the presentation of truth. Truth is impersonal (*Apauruṣeya*) and, therefore,

catholic in nature.[18] True revolution consists in changing the so-called values of present social order and bringing about real ones. And all real values are spiritual in character.[19] It is the catholicity of thought springing from the spiritual understanding that constitutes the strength of a revolution.

But abstract thought is not capable of solving the day-to-day and concrete problems. Hence, for the organization of work the All India *Sarva Sevā Sangh* was founded by the propounders of Sarvodaya. This institution was formed with a view to work as the executive of the federation of the various constructive institutions and organizations founded by Gandhi. Afterwards these institutions were merged and the Sarva Seva Sangh now works as an institution born out of their unification. It helps to carry out the concrete programme for the implementation of Sarvodaya ideal. It is an advisory institute and so does not assert itself through dictates and orders.[20]

II. The Four Facets of Gandhian Philosophy

In his preface to the 'Towards New Horizons' by Pyarelal, Vinoba gives the Gandhian thought in four facets :

i) *Satyāgraha*—The Power of Truth and Non-violence;
ii) *Sarvodaya*—The doctrine of the good of all ;
iii) *Samanvaya*—Synthesis ; and
iv) *Sāmya-yoga*—The gospel of equality.

Vinoba says that he has tried for the last forty years of his life to give body to these teachings. To him *Sarvodaya* and *Satyāgraha* are the two sides of the coin of life—one provides the thought background while the other works on the active forefront.[21]

His mathematical mind remains unsatisfied with the idea of lingering halfway house on the road to the highest ideal. That is why he does not give hearing to the demand for some concession in applying Truth and Non-violence—The Euclid in him compares the ideal to a model of a building. A blueprint that provides for

a concession and allows 89° angle instead of 90°, is acceptable to no engineer. It is acknowledged as a mistake if there is any such difference. To err is human, but the ideal itself should not be brought down to the prevalent human conditions. A small lawful breach in observing the strict standard of ideal may work moral havoc.[22] It logically follows from this that the means adopted should never go against the end in view.

This cautious avoidance of moral relativity does not shun the way to embrace whatever is valuable in different thoughts and patterns of living in different and far off corners of the world. *Samanvaya* or synthetic attitude characterises the method of Sarvodaya. Everything that strengthens the possibility of realizing the Sarvodaya and thus leads the individual and society both ahead on the path of truth and non-violence receives warm welcome from the Sarvodaya world. A colourful and varied picture of social life will spring, it is hoped, because of this synthetic approach to whatever that comes afresh. Any form of social or moral regimentation, as a result of the mechanical adherence to a set of dogmas, is the negation of freedom and individuality.

III. Samyayoga

Vinoba prophesies that the era of the rule by the few and even by the majority is dead and gone. In the coming social order all will be rulers and all subjects, where self-rule alone will prevail.[23] In this sense the days of politics—of *Rājaniti*—have counted their full number. This is true even of every exclusive religion. If religion provides explosive material in the collision between the interests of different societies it should not be allowed to dabble in human affairs.[24] True religion would, instead, work to mitigate and remove the causes of friction. According to Vinoba true religion for the whole of human world is yet to dawn.[25] He distinguishes between spirituality and religious dogmas about the future life, the origin of the creation and the ritualistic contentions etc.—that divide humanity. Spirituality puts aside these things as

insignificant as compared with the problem of winning peace and wellbeing for the human race.[26] The experience of the spiritual unity of the whole of the creation reveals itself in the form of love for all creation and equipoise of outlook. This should be the target of the spiritual aspiration of mankind. *Samya-yoga*, the art of viewing the world with equal consideration is the bed-rock of Sarvodaya ideology.

For the realisation of this ideal Vinoba points the way through three key words[27]—referred to in the first chapter *Vedānta*, *Vijñāna* and *Viśvāsa*. Here *Vedānta* does not refer to the Upaniṣadic philosophy of Hinduism. According to Vinoba it represents every spiritual value in all religious scriptures and teachings. In a sense it includes all great and sublime aspects of religious thoughts of mankind that carry man to spiritual advancement. At times Vinoba refers to this aspect as Brahmavidya.[28] Without the inner spring of this spirituality all outward activities—howsoever reforming in character—lead to stagnation and thus get contaminated.[29]

Vijñāna or Science throws light on the real nature of the physical and the psychological worlds. It is a search for unity behind the manifoldness of the world of senses. This realistic and objective outlook gives balance and saves one from the blindness of superstitution. Vinoba draws a sharp line between this scientific search for unity and the results of such search. Technological progress and mechanical advancement that characterise the modern society have nothing to do with the scientific earnestness to know the world. No doubt, knowledge has led man to power, but power has possibly led scientific knowledge to a blind alley. Scientific truth recognises no boundary of race, culture or nation ; but scientists today have to carry on research as directed by the heads of different nations. The result is : the miraculous hugeness of machines and their products and the disastrous inventions in the art of war carry the real science along with humanity to its doom. Scientific search can be carried on freely and for the benefit of the whole

humanity only under Sarvodaya conditions—where *Vedānta* will be the guide for scientific research.[30] In the booklet 'Science and Self-knowledge' Vinoba speaks of the possibility of facing the mighty upsurge of the nuclear age with an equally mighty strength of Satyāgraha backed by self-knowledge. He says that the new challenge created by the wrong tracked science should be met with by a strong and hitherto undiscovered advanced method of Satyāgraha. Just as the search of science in the external world is limitless, the science of self-knowledge also has infinite possibilities of advancement.[31]

The lack of mutual confidence and the dread of other big powers in the political world have intimidated and crippled the world of human consciousness. Trust in mutual goodness alone can enable humanity to breathe in a fearless atmosphere. Thus for the fear-ridden humanity—thirsty of peace and wellbeing—spiritual understanding, true scientific advancement and mutual trust are the only remedy according to Vinoba.[32]

IV. Satyagraha in a Novel Form

After independence the establishment of the democratic government changed the entire context of socio-economic and political situations in India. For the Sarvodaya thinkers political freedom brought a new opportunity to work for the transformation of society. To them—as to every true Gandhian—*Swarājya* means self-rule. The problems of the people should, therefore, be handled through the initiative of the people themselves.[33] The old system of landlordship, unjust distribution of wealth, unjust social customs and corrupt social atmosphere could no longer find place in the new order. How should these problems be tackled in an underdeveloped, poverty striken and superstitious society—mostly consisting of village communities?

Vinoba points out that there are three ways of bringing about a new social order.[34] The first is the way of massacre of those who

have exploited the helpless masses. This violent way is froughtwith serious dangers. The doctrine of the sword has lost its justification—either practical or moral—in the modern era.[35] Violence superficially resolves a problem, only to give rise to many more in its place.[36] If the masses take to violence, they would invite dictatorship and military regime.[37] The second alternative is to bring the changed order through law and governmental action. But even in democracy law can be equally tyrannical if it is not based on the willful consent of the people. Besides there is no scope for individual initiative and freedom in resolving issues through laws. Vinoba explains that he is not against taking legal steps to end social and economic evils. But in democracy the first thing is the psychological preparation of the people for the change.[38] Real transformation comes through a chain of triple change. First there should be the change of heart (*hṛdaya parivartana*), secondly this should lead to the change of the ways of living and as a result, thirdly, social institutions should assume new form.[39]

This psychological understanding of the legitimacy of the desired change on the part of the people—both the exploited and the exploiters—can be brought about through compassion (*Karuṇā*).[40] A question arises as to whether the old forms of Gandhian Satyāgraha—viz. non-cooperation, boycott and civil disobedience on a mass scale—can be harnessed for this task also. Vinoba shows that the changed circumstances do not allow those forms of Satyāgraha.[41] It is not a business of throwing away a foreign political tyranny or smashing the slavish dependence. It is to perform a delicate operation on the body of society that has been rendered half-dead by the rotten moral and social traditions. Boycott and non-cooperation of the old type would have further paralysed the social life.

Vinoba chose the problem of landless peasants. In 1951 he started the Land-Gift-Movement (*Bhūdāna-Yajña*) in Telengana, and since then it has spread allover India through some few hundred

workers. Its objective is to effect equitable land distribution by the abolition of the landlordship system by an appeal both to heart and head in a non-violent way. It is a novel attempt to arouse the sense of justice through an appeal to compassion. In fact, Gandhi in his last life-mission had lighted this path. The blindness of fanatics and the cruelties of the grief-striken individuals had only one remedy—that of an eppeal to heart through love. Vinoba has to counter with greed[42] and the traditional habits of indifference to social responsibility. While going from village to village on foot, and talking to the people of all ranks, he persuades them to detect the dangers of landlordship. He attacks the very idea of private ownership.[43] 'It is a fire that ought to be quenched by the donation of land for those who are landless'—he says.[44] In some societies private property is considered to be a sacred right. Vinoba argues—Is it not proper to part with that sacred right and do even more sacred duty ?[45] And many times property is only legal theft.[46] The ideal of non-possession needs to be actualised in the new era.[47]

Individuals are only trustees of their property, and they should keep it for the benefit of society.[48] Just as air and water are necessary and available for all, so should land be considered as belonging to all. None should be allowed to own land.[49] *Bhūmi* (land) is the wife of the Lord *Viṣṇu* and hence She is the mother of all creation (*Visnu Patnī*; *Mātā Bhūmih, putroham pṛthivyām*).[50] How can man own her ? As mother nourishes all her children so should land do. When one is asked to donate land, it is not equalised with the alms-giving to beggars.[51] In the Upanisads *Prajāpati* enjoins *dāna* as the duty of man.[52] *Sankaracārya* explains dāna as equitable distribution (*Dānam samvibhāgah*).[53] It is a rightful demand on the part of the landless.[54] The concept of *Yajña* is also as old as the Vedas. Sacrifice has been a reverently admired institution in Indian culture. The *Gītā* declares that unless men make sacrifices the cycle of life cannot keep on

moving. Every society rests on willing sacrifices of its members. This movement has, according to Vinoba, provided an opportunity to free oneself from the entanglement of attachment.[55] It guides one to the path of salvation. In the language of the Buddha—it is Dharma Cakra Pravartana (starting the wheel of spiritual upliftment or religion).[56] Through this dynamic approach the spiritual values are introduced into social and economic life of society.

The ignorant yet wise villagers of India are no doubt, attracted towards this movement because of its religious appeal and economic assurance. The movement has developed into *Grāmdān* through the steps of *Sampattidān*, *Śramadān* and *Jīvanadān*. In *Grāmdān* the entire land of a village is pooled together for the benefit of the whole village community. The work of the reorganisation of social and economic life starts with the initiative of the village people themselves. Thus the preparation for self-rule begins. The landlords are welcomed in this joint responsibility. If the lofty vision of the new society appeals to them they leave their palaces and go to the fields alongwith their newly gained friends and brothers. Vinoba emphasises the sanctity and intimacy of family relations which are to be introduced in social life.[57] The values characteristic of family life are—care of the helpless, service of the needed and devotion for the good of all members. All these virtues should prove the village society to be a big family.

Vinoba recommends Grāmdān even as a defence measure.[58] To him small-manageable village-communities with their well ordered and disciplined way of life need no military. *Śānti Senā* or the Peace-brigade of those who voluntarily dedicate themselves for the preservation and maintenance of peace and order can prove sufficient at the time of crisis.

V. A Call for Janasakti

According to Vinoba the whole movement of Bhoodān up to Grāmdān reveals progressively the refined and subtle forms of

Satyagrāha[59] for the realization of Sarvodaya ideal. These forms of Satyāgraha too have been the revelations of truth, compassion and penance.[60] Through these one can hope to eradicate the class and caste distinctions in Indian life without having resort to class conflicts even in a peaceful way.[61] It is through persuasion and understanding that it appeals to the people of all ranks. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad too admits, "Just as in the case of Gandhiji, so in the case of Vinoba Bhave too, it so happened that dozens of men and women who towered above him in intellectual capacities and other ingredients of personal eminence went to him listened to his exposition of the gospel of Jana Śhakti (People's power) as the only effective means through which land and other problems of the people can be solved. Ministers, professors and other eminent men began to hail him as the leader of a movement which, if successful, will lead to the realisation of the goal for which they have all been working—the goal of establishing a classless and casteless society through non-violent means."[62]

After paying such tribute to the leader of the movement Mr. Namboodiripad stresses the inefficiency of the Gandhian path of compassion in resolving the land-problem completely. He points out that the government has to step in to take away the unjust privileges of the big landlords. Since "the landlords, the capitalists and other exploiting classes will not, as a class, willingly subject themselves to the social transformation dreamed of by visionaries and fought for by practical revolutionaries."[63] The Gandhian path is good so far as it goes ; and all political parties should wish well to it and help to propagate the grāmdān ideal, he adds.[64]

Though there is no attempt here to assess the success or failure of the movement, it ought to be admitted that so far as the practical results are concerned the movement has not reached its target. But it ought to be conceded, at the same time, that the movement has created an atmosphere favourable for the peaceful solution of the problem. What seems sometimes objectionable is the use of

the language of religion—particularly that of the Hindu religion. A philosophy that asks to rise above the differences of religions should, it seems, rise even above the language of a particular religion. It is true that an appeal to the spiritual values and lofty emotions should find place in a peaceful revolution, but such an appeal can express itself in new terminology. In an attempt to fill the new content in the old terms, there is a danger of doing harm both to the content as also to the word itself. Something similar happens when the spirit of synthesis is overemphasised.

About the Gandhian struggle for independence Mr. Namboodiripad says that the bourgeoise community found it safe to follow the Mahātmā, as there was an assurance of non-injury under him.[65] This may or may not be true, since in India the conflict between the bourgeoise and the proletariat was not (and even today is not) accentuated, and the main issue at the time was to deliver the whole country from slavery. In the Bhoodān movement there is the possibility of the rich landlords paying lip-homage to the new revolution.[66] But in a non-violent mass revolution one should be prepared for this. Ultimately, a real revolution depends on the complete change of heart and a movement can create the favourable and even compelling atmosphere, can set certain examples and thus point the way to the solution of the problem. The revolution through understanding is a long way, but in the present human circumstances it is the only way.

VI. Towards the Non-Party Democracy

Along with the Bhoodāna-Grāmdān movement the thought of self-rule found its expression in the political field also. In the political field of India there are so many parties contesting for the acquisition of power; but instead of working for unity and solidarity of Indian society they seem to be adding confusion to chaos. Moreover, modern centralised democracies has not effected real self-rule.[67] Sarvodaya wants ' Strength politics ' (strength of the

people) instead of "power-politics."[68] Jayaprakash Narayan—the former socialist leader and now one of the foremost Sarvodaya leaders—has suggested a form of non-party democracy.[69] In the primary village communities *pancāyats*, instead of political parties, should play the required role. This will open the door of responsible life for the common man. The life of responsibility bestows vigilance and nourishes dutiful nature. Without self-control and consideration for others life of togetherness in society is an impossibility.

The political life of a society should enable the people to be self-reliant. They should solve their vital problems and be friendly and helpful to the other communities. Such inter-connected communities should form larger groups and finally all such groups should reach the acme in a world federation. Thus a citizen of the primary community-unit becomes at the same time the citizen of the world—both emotionally and in practical approach. He will be a *Viśvamānava*.[70]

In such a Sarvodaya world Science will be guided by spiritual understanding as we have seen above. The technology, therefore, will take different forms according to the needs of different communities.[71] There will be plenty of food and other necessities.[72] It will be seen that there is human touch in productive process.[73] Industry and agriculture will be so controlled as to utilise and develop the capacities of all individuals. Machine will, of course, help man, but will not overpower his skill and impoverish his vitality.[74]

In this Sarvodaya Society will man get leisure for his cultural development or will he be required to work for all the time to satisfy his needs? The Sarvodaya leaders recognise the value of high cultural level of a society. They prefer that productive labour and play, productive process and fine-arts should unite so far as it is possible.[75] They admit that geniuses and genuine artists should find a place in Sarvodaya Society.[76] But if the whole social atmosphere is to be diffused culturally every one should get leisure

for one's refinement of taste and development of skills. In the present social order only some chosen few get leisure for the enjoyment of fine-arts.[77] And those who enjoy are not artists themselves. The poor artists and even geniuses have to labour all their life to entertain and satisfy these privileged onlookers.[78] Therefore, the pivot of the cultural problem is centred in the question—Leisure for whom? The answer from a Sarvodaya thinker is clear and definite : If necessary leisure is available (and it should be made available though it cannot be made a principle of life,[79] every one from all ranks and levels of society have a right to it.[80] Equal opportunity for self-development for all can create a classless, casteless and a culturally homogenius society.[81] The culture of a society does not so much consist of traditional patterns of behaviour or of ways of living as of the sense of fullness of life attained through mutual sharing of life.[82] When the common man will be awakened to a new sense of higher values of life leaving behind selfish interests and limited consciousness there will be true human civilization and culture. Then the arms and armies, kings and political leaders with their parties, castes and their duties unjust customs based on sex-difference—all will lose their respective values, since they only serve as the blocks on the way to the wellbeing of humanity.[83]

It is natural that the Sarvodaya leaders should lay emphasis on the building of a new educational system. The mass movements and reformative programmes try to change the social context and create a new psychological set. But unless new education—not only in schools and universities but in and through all institutions and customs—fosters virtues of character no stable foundation can be given to the new social order.[84] Gandhi had given an idea of Basic Education. It has to be developed so as to suit the new context of Grāmdān.[85] If the roots of caste and class-consciousness are to be eradicated, it is argued, a comprehensive educational system on the lines suggested by Gandhi ought to be implemented.[86] In the age of science and democracy all are to be educated. The

young and the old should equally get theoretical and practical instructions. Education, therefore, should not confine itself to the schools and universities. Different organisations and work-houses should be turned into schools and colleges—Nature, society and different industries are the real context in which education can be imparted. Thus living and learning will go hand in hand.[87]

Like Gandhi the present day Sarvodaya leaders have chosen Indian society for the realisation of Sarvodaya ideal. Their work is still developing and is taking different shapes and forms according to the demands of changing circumstances. As the thought underlying the Sarvodaya movements and programmes is a universal one and as it has a catholic appeal, it has found some adherents from thinkers in other countries as well. They may develop the thought and action in their own way. Our study is confined to the development of this thought in the Indian context. We have seen the salient features of that development. In the chapters that follow it is proposed to trace the historical contribution of the thinkers of the past to the development of the Sarvodaya thought. Such a study may enable us to understand the details of Sarvodaya—Social, moral and metaphysical aspects.

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Chapter Four

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SARVODAYA

I. Predecessors from the East

We have seen that the Sarvodaya thought rests on the eternal values of Truth and Non-violence. Vinoba Bhave, representing the Sarvodaya thinkers, maintains that the values express themselves progressively as the events move on historically.[1] It must be noted, however, that though the flux of events is eternal, the developmental process in human world is not and need not necessarily be a continuous one. The basic values give rise to an array of different values according to the demands of the changing circumstances. We have noticed in the last three chapters how the world events—and particularly the Indian-world events—from the beginning of this century have given a challenge to the thinking humanity and how the Sarvodaya thinkers have attempted to meet it in their own characteristic way. They developed different values tried to live them in thought and deed and thus suggested a new way of social living so as to meet the challenge. But the ideal of Sarvodaya social and individual life is not entirely new. It is an expression at a particular period of time in the ever developing historical process. The Sarvodaya thinkers often refer to their predecessors both in the East and the West. They have benefited themselves with the rich heritage of wisdom and experience of the architects and designers of human society all over the world. In order to evaluate the contribution of these thinkers and experimenters to the development of the Sarvodaya thought, it seems advisable that we should have a bird's eye view of the different ideals of human life.

Kauṭilya or *Viṣṇugupta* of ancient India was not only a practical diplomat but also a great theoretician of the art of government. It seems that he has presented the ideals of the pre-Buddhistic society in India.[2] *Kautilya* unhesitatingly sanctions the legitimacy of the institution of war not only for defensive purposes but as an aggressive step to enlarge the empire. He recognises the superiority of the science of spirituality (*Ānvīkśikī vidya*) to all other sciences. But at the same time he values the science of government (*Daṇḍa Nīti*) for it provides the spectre of a powerful king to protect the Vedas and wealth. With the help of the science of punishment alone the king could maintain the order in society.[3] In the absence of this punishment there would prevail the "law of might" (*Mātsanyāya*). Hence, for the sake of righteousness and happiness of the human world *Kauṭilya* goes on elaborating a sixfold policy[4] that strengthens the sovereignty of the government. But the adoration of punishment and the worship of the military powers are not an indication of king's coveteousness or greed or even partiality. It is sincerely believed that the treatment of the subjects and the enemies at the hands of the all-powerful king is a necessity for stabilizing peace and order. And to be well-equipped for this task the king has to undergo the training in the Vedas and philosophies along with the other sciences for winning control over senses. In his private and public life the king is to be righteous, dutiful and wakeful for the benefit of the subjects. "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."[5] But the subjects are not allowed to indulge in selfish ends. The social and individual life rests on the *Varnaśrama Dharma*. The people are assured of the achievement of the ultimate goal of human life—Heaven and infinite bliss (*Anantya*)—as the fruit of the observance of their respective duties. The triple vedas are the authority in matters of Dharma.[6]

Manusmṛti

The *Manusmṛti* is a treatise giving the code of conduct prevalent in the Indian society at and after the times of the Buddha. The *Manusmṛti* marks an advance in the cultural and moral status of Indian society. But it explicitly lays emphasis on the conservation of the social order since the new un-orthodox creeds were trying to shake its roots. Hence, we find the glorification and worship of custom and convention.[7] It refers to the same time-honoured conception of the origin of kingship and government. When the fear-ridden people in the chaotic world[8] ask for help, the king—who is the combination of seven Gods—is created for their protection. But in order that they should not transgress the Divine Law, punishment is employed. Besides, the king is asked to be ever ready to strike, to display his prowess, to conceal his secrets and to explore the weakness of his foe for the "attainment of what is not gained."[9] The social and individual life was ordered by the divinely originated *Varṇāśrama-dharma.* It raises the *Brahmaṇa* as the lord of all creation. But he occupies such a high place only because he protects the treasury of the law and is one with the Brahman.[10] The other castes—*Kshatriya, Vaishya* and *Shudra*—are also enjoined their respective duties of protecting the society, carrying the business work and doing service work for the three higher castes respectively.[11] The four ashramas or orders lead the individual from childhood onwards progressively towards the ultimate fulfilment of human life—the liberation from the cycle of births and deaths. The orders constitute of the student, the householder, the hermit and the ascetic.[12] The householder is justly given the place of pride in society since he is the support of it.[13] He has been advised not to " neglect the sacrifices to the sages, to the gods, to the *bhūtas* (elementary forces), to men, and to the manes."[14] The other three orders have to be devoted for the sake of learning and the attainment of the highest bliss of salvation. Reverential place has been given to women in society but they have been declared unfit

for freedom.[15] The ideal state of human society has been conceived in terms of *kṛitayuga* wherein "Dharma is four-footed and entire and so is Truth ; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness."[16] Injustice and falsehood theft and fraud deprive human society of its merit and self-sufficiency, health and contentment.[17]

The Hindu ideal of the state till the recent years of European influence has been dominated by the monarchical concept. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the king as the architect of his times. But there is also the evidence that there were republics (*Ganas* or *Sanghas*) and people had their say in politics. Here also the Varṇāśrama dharma dominates the social order. There was a firm belief in the Doctrine of *Karma* which is an indication of the recognition of the moral order of the universe. The *Mahābhārata* gives one of the brightest visions of ideal society. The *Kṛitayuga* expels all coercion and external compulsion. The *Śānti-parva*[18] relates the story of a primitive society wherein the Law of Righteousness rules. No executive body, no government are necessary, since all people protect each other and become a law to themselves. The only punishment for the criminals was ostracism. Some Jaina *Sūtras*[19] refer to some actually existing anarchic states. They were small in area and democratic in practice. Naturally against powerful foes they could not defend themselves. Besides, internal greed and lack of mutual confidence brought about their dissension. It is doubtful whether these states were socially and economically egalitarian and democratic. But cooperation and mutual confidence, love and responsibility seem to have played the highest part in all the spheres of life.

The above pictures of the ideal state of human life are cradled in and through Hinduism. Hinduism believes in the divine order of the universe. Spirituality is the prime concern of its thinkers. On the moral side there are the two doctrines of Rebirth and the Law of *Karma*. From the social and religious points of view it

has been guided by the *Varṇāśrama* dharma. *Varṇa* in its original form seems to be a commendable principle keeping society on just path. When it got transformed into Casteism with its hard and fast restrictions, it became the source of stagnation of Hindu Society. Its conservative spirit and reverence for tradition can be said to be the reason why there is no scope for revolution in Hinduism. And still the *Āśrama* system shows a way of the unification of individual's and society's interest on social and religious sides while spiritually there seems to be a sort of indifference for social order. Hence, perhaps the talk of social revolution seems inconsistent with the spirit of traditional Hinduism. Characteristically, the well-known tolerant attitude of Hinduism is confined to the variety of philosophical speculation. None of the Orthodox systems of philosophy and the *Dharma Śāstras* dare cast an evil eye on the social and economic structure of society. The attacks of the unorthodox philosophies like Buddhism and Jainism were, no doubt, faced courageously and considerately, but the caste-system skillfully escaped and protected the tradition-bound society.

Despite this fault, Hinduism ought to be credited for its distinctive quality of freedom of thought and expression. As a result of its all-embracing synthetic spirit it has become a complex of a variety of beliefs from the crudest to the finest ones humanity ever conceived of. On the one hand, there are thousands of deities worshipped by illiterate and superstitious people faithfully surrendering to priests, and on the other, there are some who mingle their voice in that of the Upanisadic seer who proclaims " Everything that is, is Brahman ", and " Thou art That. " This automatically deprives the idols and their worship and prayers of their ultimate value ! Spiritually Hinduism values perfection of individuals. Such self-realized individuals reach beyond good and evil, but themselves become the measure of goodness in society. The *Bhagvad Gītā* is a classic representative of the synthetic approach of Hindu philosophy. The *sthitaprajña*—an equipoised

and perfect individual—is the Gītā's ideal. The life of this ideal man is a synthetic fusion of the ideals of knowledge, action and devotion. This concept has a paramount influence on spiritual thinking of Indian philosophers. This emphasis on the spiritual values of life has made the Hindu Society a peace-loving and non-aggressive one.

Buddhism, though unorthodox in rejecting the infallibility of the Vedas, is really an offspring of the Upanisads as it is equally individualistic in its approach in laying emphasis on salvation. Though it struck hard at the roots of the Caste system by allowing all into its order, it is no less indifferent to the social and political order than is Hinduism. In fact, it is anti-governmental. The Buddha's royal relatives left their vocation as kings and followed him to his order. The road of political wisdom is called "an unclean path of falseness."[20] Since reverence for the whole of creation expressed in the Upanisadic tradition occupies in Buddhism the prime position, there is an emphasis on the principles of *Karuṇā* and *Ahimsā* (Compassion and Love). Even for laymen *ahimsā* is a necessity. Aśokā—the famous emperor of India in the third century B.C.—realised the futility of physical conquest after his victory over the Kalingas. In one of his edicts he writes for the guidance of future kings, "should any one do him wrong that too must be borne with ····· His sacred majesty desires that all animate being should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness. He, therefore, enjoins the princes not to regard conquest of new territory as their duty". Real conquest is the conquest of hatred and greed. Indeed, in the history of human civilization Aśoka's example stands unparalled in its moral effulgence. Through him Buddhism has contributed to the cultural, moral and spiritual advancement of mankind.

Though Negativistic in its approach to the actual form of social pattern, Buddhism is positive enough in its promise of salvation to man in the miserable plight of *sansāra*. The realization of the four

Noble Truths[21] of life enables man to come out of the painful cycle of births and deaths. Neither self-indulgence nor self-mortification can lead to the blissful state of salvation. The true eightfold path of right-living is a middle one. All misery is due to ego-centred life of man. The ego is a creation of desire owing to which there is a temptation to stick to the things of the world. But the world is always in flux, and attachment to it creates an illusion of permanence. It is this illusion of the permanent ego that strengthens the chain of actions through birth and death. When one grasps the significance of this, one attains *Nirvāṇa*—the abode of peaceful delight. Then the smoky flame of self-hood is blown out.

The Buddha kept silent over the nature of liberation and the metaphysical problems of ultimate reality. He treated the problem of human misery in a practical and moral way. The *Mahāyāna* spiritual ideal of Bodhisattva aims at complete Buddhahood which tolerates no trace of ego. Naturally, the preparation for this stage leaves no scope for self-assertion. *The Diamond Sūtra*[22] preaches the practice of virtues (*Paramitas*) that should lead to selfless service of society along with the attainment of intuitive experience of spiritual unity. The *Dāna Pāramitā* along with the other *Pāramitās* asks a spiritual aspirant to give all with full understanding of the basic non-duality of life. This is the way to attain true wisdom (*Prajñā*). This complete eradication of the sense of separateness and quantitative considerations while practising charity and compassion makes it clear that the final stage of liberation even bears no idea of distinctness. The salvation of one aspirant is the salvation of whole creation, since the essence of Buddhahood is identical with the essence of all things.[23] The liberated person spontaneously strives for the liberation of all.

This same approach is the characteristic of *Zen-Buddhism*, a later offshoot of Buddhism in China and Japan. The Zen masters emphasise the beyond-morality aspect of human goal. Concen-

trate on the effacement of the slightest taint of ego and the very seed of human misery is burnt away. Those who attain liberation in this way are persons in the fullest and real sense. They alone can devote themselves for the upliftment of the rest of the mankind. Society that takes form through the coöperation of such persons should face no self-made problems.

Jainism is known as a religion of extreme asceticism, yet it has much to say about the creation of free and well-balanced democratic outlook. In spite of its apathy for public and political life, in practical life its doctrine of *Syādvāda* 'May-be-ism' is of great significance. It prevents one from relying on one-sided information and biased judgement. It should be conceded that in order to save human mind from the cultches of dead dogmas such a caution is very essential. Only, one has to guard against the hindrance this doctrine may bring in the way of the final grasp of Truth in all its entirety. In Jainism also, liberation from the scorching *sansāra* can be achieved only through the cessation of the chain of actions. But as in Buddhism, here also the working of the *Karma* principle needs no God to supervise it. Liberty and responsibility both belong to individuals. Jaina Ahimsā has both positive and negative aspects. Mere non-injury is insufficient, it should be backed by the active service of others. In one of his prayers a *Sādhaka* says, "Let the king be victorious and righteous. Let there be rain in every proper season. Let diseases die and famine and theft be no more. Let the Law of Jaina give all happiness to all the living beings of the world."[24] An Arhat is a perfected man living only for the benefit of others. The peculiarity of Buddhism and Jainism is that even when they prescribe higher and lower disciplines for the spiritual aspirants and laymen, there is no caste distinction permitted in their orders.

Zoroastrianism vividly expresses the struggle between good forces and evil tendencies in this universe. Men vascilate between these two forces, sometimes holding fast to righteousness, and at others

drifting lowly towards the evil. But after the final judgement God brings about Renewal. "By his will the Renewal arises in the universe, and the world becomes immortal for ever and ever.[25] After the renewal, there is no demon because no deceit exists. There is no Hell because no wickedness exists. No lack because no greed exists. It is impossible by any means to cause any pain or distress whatever to any creature.[26] "The God grants to us the welfare of our animals and men through a certainty of Love gained by righteousness."[27]

Ancient China does not fall short of conceiving an ideal human society in her own peculiar way. The *Confucian ideal* prepared men for rational pursuit of happiness and peace. In his view, though force is essential in the last resort, it is subordinate to the power of justice. The value of the goverment lay in its power to make men happy. To the Confusian belief that all men are equal, Mencius his follower added that all men are fundamentally good and education has nothing to do but to remove the hindrances in the way of the natural expression of primary simplicity and virtue. Motzu was a Pacifist of the foremost type. He aruged the case for no war on rational and utilitarian basis. Though none of these philosophers seem to step beyond the enlightened self-interest, yet they believed in a social order that was based on mutual confidence and cooperation for happiness and peace for all. But Taoism went to the far extent of individualism and liberty. The *Taoist* Absolutists of China repudiated even the governmental machinery for its coercion. Their noble anarchism could not cope with the idea of utility of war even as the weapon of last moment.[28]

The self-assertive *Islām* reveals democratic tendencies by assuring equal status to all who enter the brotherhood of its devotees. It believes that Divine mercy enfolds all creation (*Ai-Rahman*). Naturally, those who believe and work righteousness are true Moslems and those who blindly accept the

religious dogma are not able to receive God's mercy. Muhammad gave morality and one supreme God to his people, who were divided into defferent minor folds. He brought unity among them. After him *Islām* developed a particular mystic faith called *Sūfism*. The love of the *Sūfī* devotees for God became a force that united them with his whole creation. As it is often found, those who have tasted the mystic union with God are ardent supporters of liberty and they vehemently denounce all forms of authority. The Pantheistic tendencies of the *Sūfī* mystics made them moral and responsible members of society. The mystic saint *Hallāj* consistently developed an anarchic idealism touching all spheres of life. Bāyazid, the legendary hero of the Persian *Sūfīs*, is said to have asserted, " Creatures are subject to ' states ' but the gnostic has no ' state ', because his vestiges are effaced and his essence is noughted by the essence of Another and his traces are in Another's traces ".[29] God is all love and all faiths lead to him. *Ibnu'l-Arabi* (1165-1240 A.D.) sings—" Love is the faith I hold, wherever turn his camels, still the one true Faith is mine "[30] Moreover " the man of God is beyond infidelity and religion '[31] Such Catholic outlook has marked *Sūfīsm* as the distinguishing and most tolerant sect of Islām.

All these Eastern religious movements are the source of a large vista of cultural, political and social advancement in Asian and to an extent even in European countries for the last three thousand years. Particularly the Indian soil is sensitive to every religious upsurge. It is true that ever since the last two thousand years till recent history India has not contributed much politically and socially. But she has enjoyed spiritual fervour in different shades and colours through her seers and saints like ' *Śankara, Rāmānuja* and *Madhava*, like *Chaitanya, Kabīr* and *Nānak* as also *Jñaneśvara* and *Ekanātha* '. After she came in contact with the Europeans in Modern age, the commingling of the Western thought with Eastern religion[32] gave birth to a variety of new movements in

all spheres of life. The new consciousness had a universal appeal and Catholic approach which not merely aroused the slumbering Indian Nation but served as a beacon light to all backward and enlsaved countries. While the Indian National Congress strengthened the urge for political freedom, *Rām Mohan Roy* started to purge the Indian society of its crying evils of social injustices.

With these forces different spiritual movements joined hands. They enlivened the dumb millions of this country. In the life of Śrī *Rāmakrisṇa Paramahansa,* who experimentally proved the unity of purpose of all religions, the note of the brotherhood of all religions was struck. This created a possibility of cooperation of all humanity for its spiritual advancement. *Swāmi Vivekānanda* brought home the consciousness that the *Vedānta* of *Śankara* and the *Karuṇa* of the Buddha together should unite to awaken and uplift the masses of India. Unless and until India overthrows the crushing weight of the devouring poverty and deadening inequalities traditionally sucking life from society, there is no hope of liberation. The poor and the caste away (*Daridrīnarayana*) are real gods—the worship of whom will bring social and individual salvation. The *Brāhmosamāja, Ārya Samāja,* Rāmakrisṇa Mission and the Theosophical Society as also the attempts of Justice Rānade, Tilak and Aurobindo who had spiritual insight—created a ripe atmosphere of religious, political and social awakening in which Gandhi found himself after his return from South Africa. The Sarvodaya ideal of the all round development of the human world is a natural growth of the cosmopolitan and all-pervading experiences of the new Rennaissance in India.

II. The Western Contribution

The Western contribution to the evolution of Sarvodaya values is also of no less importance. Plato, the philosopher among philosophers and the worthy disciple of Socrates, surpasses all previous Greek thinkers in exhaustiveness, brilliance and grandeur with which he dealt with human problems. It was he who conceived the ideal

philosopher, who had the vision of the sun of good—the fountain of Reality, and the ultimate goal of humanity. These ideal personalities were gracious enough to turn to the den of human world,[33] wherein many were bound to matter and blinded by might, to guide its affairs in spite of all ridicule and opposition with which they might be welcomed. Plato recognised that states are not made up of bricks and stones[34], but of human beings who are capable of dedicating themselves for the good of all, if they receive proper education. And from the point of veiw of education men and women are treated equally by him. He valued man's rationality in bringing forth harmonious development of individual and society in whom lower elements were to be controlled through their subordination to reason. Everyone should do one's best in accomplishing what one is capable of, and should not dabble in other's business. This was Plato's Justice. The attainment of Justice was the moral and spiritual goal of humanity according to Plato. This was the pivot round which all social, political and economic ideas rotated. In order to secure justice some peculiar ideas, viz., the idea of three classes, that of the communism for the Guardians, of the limit to the area of the Republic and that of striking the balance between amassing wealth and poverty, were put forward by him.

The modern man of democratic faith feels dissatisfied with Plato's contempt of the common man. One cannot appreciate Plato's adoration of state at the cost of individual liberty. No cultured man can agree with him in his casual dismissal of man's sublime emotions, his biased misrepresentation of family-ties and his indifference to marriage-purity. Again, every man of conscience would feel disgust for the cruel play with the ignorant rank and file, involved in insinuating in them the Divine myth of Metals. Nevertheless, Plato commands respect even in the modern world for his suggestion that the leaders of people should have spiritual insight. Plato declares," Until philosophers are kings,

or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and wisdom and political leadership meet in the same man....cities will never cease from ill, nor the human race."[35]

Though Aristotle does not speak of Democracy so deridingly as does Plato, to him also Monarchical rule of the best among men is the ideal. One who is the wisest and morally competent can alone guide the community of state. State springs from the very nature of man, and defends the course of good life of all its citizens. He too believes in education and conceives of citizens (at least in Democracy) as capable to rule directly. He attacks Plato's concept of the community of property and wives and recognises the value of family relations. He remarks, "How much better it is to be the real cousin of somebody than to be a son after Plato's fashion!"[36] Though individual possession of property is conceived to be justifiable, it should be used for common benefit according to him. But while emphasising the difference between man and woman he altogether reduces woman to the status of a slave. He too, like Plato, cannot conceive of unity and friendship as stretching beyond the Greek world. Most of all, he relentlessly divides human race into two classes—one is fit by nature to rule and the other deserves subjection.

To both Plato and Aristotle the state is not merely a political necessity but a moral and spiritual demand of the nature of man. The state is the individual writ large. The Greek states are the representatives of man's reason. Naturally, the civilized Greeks are destined to rule over the barbarians. In spite of this imperialistic tendency, both these philosophers helped much to enrich the Socratic moral heritage by insisting on the moral aspect of justice as against the popular concept put forth by Thrasymachus that Justice is the interest of the stronger. They emphasised the truth of the Socratic saying—knowledge is virtue and strengthened the case for moral and spiritual outlook for life.

It is evident that the triad of the Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, reigned over western thought-world till the end of the Middle ages, and still attracts the modern mind to an extent through their appeal to reason. An appeal to the heart of the western people through the strength of faith, self-suffering and sacrifice came from the prophets of the *Old Testament* and from the Son of Man of the *New Testament*. Believers in both the Testaments consider that through the agency of Israel the earth is going to be transformed completely. A new birth of humanity is to be expected through the suffering of the prophets of the Lord. The kingdom of God and its conspicuous characteristics were vividly presented by Jesus the Christ, but its merciful tenderness and loving care and the emphasis on justice and righteousness were proclaimed even before him.[37] Isaiah[38] conceives even of the end of all war when men shall " beat their swords into plough shares " and their spears shall turn into "pruning hooks" and then "nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. "[39] Then hate, selfishness and violence find no place on earth, since " the earth shall be full of knowledge of God as the water covers the sea. "[40]

For the preparation of this kingdom of God the Ten commandments[41] are issued. They determine the mode of individual living in society. But the God of the Old Testament does not hesitate to punish the criminals and unrighteous people. To Jesus, who speaks as the son of God—the merciful and all-loving God—ingnorance giving rise to the hardness of heart was the true barrier to the rising of the new era. From the cross, that witnessed the death pangs of this hero suffering for the erring humanity, he asked forgiveness for those who brought to him that cruel destination, since " they knew not what they did. " That is why he tried to open the eyes of the people who were eager to stone down the sinning woman. His advice always was not to judge others. His God was the father of all, good and evil people, equally.[42]

The servants of God should crave to find the lost sheep, and should welcome the prodigal son in order to convert them to the path of righteousness through loving care. While doing this they might be required to turn their right cheek after getting a smack already on the left one.

If the kingdom of God is to be brought to the earthly plane, the pure and the meek, the righteous and the merciful and the poor in spirit, should crown the earth. Jesus Christ believed that the hope of the future world was such devoted servants of Truth staking their lives for the sake of the values of life. He appealed to the individuals of true faith and did not turn to convert the royal class, because, it seems, he had the firm conviction that the transformation of separate and common but devoted individuals could alone bring about the complete change of the social order. That is why rather indifferently he remarks "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.[43]"

The early Christian society seems to be communistically ordered. The devotees had all things in common.[44] And the strong bond of brotherly feeling brought unity among them. Their courage and steadfastness even at the moment of death melted the stony hearts of the pagan world and ultimately conquered a large portion of the human world for Christianity. The key to their universality of appeal is found in Jesus' words, "whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister and mother."[45]

Among the various Christian sects, Quakerism appeals to the modern democratic pacifist as equally and genuinely as it does to the true religious man. Its contention that Inner Light lighteth every human heart and renders everyone equal to the rest of human individuals, strengthens the case for human equality and unity. Every moral man gets attracted towards its teachings of wholesale banishment of violence from every walk of life, and of deceit from everyday business matters. Being primarily concerned with spirituality, Quakerism adheres to the spirit of the

Christ's teachings discarding dogmas and exclusive faith in any book and rituals. All this helps the modern world to progress on the path of individual liberty and religious tolerance. The democratic practices in the periodical meetings of the community of Friends, proceeding through discussion and persuasion, and coming to decisions in accordance with the consensus of the meeting, shows a way out of the conflicting situations in society. Selfless service of humanity in an organised fashion and with missionary zeal is a commendable feature of all Christian sects. The Friends have striven incessantly for the uprooting of slavery, uplifting of women in social status and for the kindly and sane treatment of the insane. This is how the kingdom of God can be actualized. In fact, the successful attempts of William Penn in Pensylvania to make a non-violent and freedom-loving community work self-reliantly, at least for a period of time, shows that violence and coercion are obsolete and barbarious. This example had done much more for real self-rule than any other so-called Democracy of modern times has done. But, as usual, this experiment also displayed, that the lack of unity and strong organization based on common purpose makes it difficult for any isolated state to face the hostile world for a long time. Even then, such sublime failures light up the path towards the land of happy and contented society.

The Sarvodaya philosophers gratefully acknowledge their debt to the western religious spirit, which later gave birth to the Liberal, Democratic, and Socialistic tendencies in the western world. These tendencies, although severed from their spiritual spring, developed a sane responsible social consciousness in individuals who were, at the same time, the champions of individual liberty. In the Western Democratic tradition it was Locke who upheld the ideas of individualism and liberty. He emphatically asserted the right of the individual to rebel against unjust kings given by Magna Carta in 1215. According to Locke, human beings are

'naturally' wise, therefore, there is no danger to mankind from free individuals so long as they obey the Law of Nature. This law teaches that all being equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions.[46] But like the ancient Indian thinkers, Locke also anticipates a state of confusion and disorder if the law is not obeyed. To evade such a danger, governments are established by the consent and agreement of people. But the people have every right to overthrow the unjust regime if the government disobeys them, since sovereignty is invested in the people themselves. Jefferson could have, in this, a philosophy of revolution. When constitutional ways and peaceful measures are exhausted, revolution becomes essential. The international character of revolution also gets foundation in Locke's philosophy. To him all mankind is one, hence, it is the duty of a people to resist tyranny everywhere, and, therefore, to help revolutions in other countries. This philosophy taught the basic democratic value that the only alternative worthy of man to liberty, is death.

J.S. Mill and Herbert Spencer are known as the staunch supporters of individual liberty. Mill emphatically maintains that society should grant freedom of thought, expression and of conduct, even to the out-of-the-way individuals who are generally called cranks and erratics.[47] Society is likely to have a genius out of such abnormal persons. Collectivism lowers down the standard and maims individual speciality by compression.[48] To deny individuality is to put a full stop to progress. Unless it becomes inevitable, neither government nor society should come in the way of individual's spontaneous behaviour. And since men are fallible even a single individual should be allowed to express himself in the midst of hostile human world.[49]

Spencer reiterated what Mill said, with an air of certainty, that a natural science possesses. He further showed that from the point of view of evolution, wars are incompatible with human progress

since they come in the way of individual liberty. Permanent peace alone guarantees the least disturbance to individual from the governmental authority.[50]

But what led European countries to too much individualism and moral indifference was perhaps the exclusive stress on the bifurcation of human life into the sections—one belonging to individual and the other to society.[51] Mill's strong demarcation between the self-regarding virtues and the other-regarding virtues gave strength to the doctrine of *laissez faire*. This doctrine receives its justification from Spencer's favourite concept of evolutionary principle. According to him "The ill-fitted must suffer the evils of unfitness, and the well-fitted profit by their fitness."[52] This position accentuated the sharpness of Industrial Revolution and consequently became a source of social injustice. Naturally, the pendulum of emphasis in social and political world moved to the other extreme of collectivism, at least in socialistic and totalitarian countries. Yet, in spite of this, one should not underrate the bulk of contribution that these 19th century thinkers made for the enhancement of democratic values. It is because of them that the free world at least breaths even after the strong onslaughts by the two world wars.

During the Eighteenth century, the philosophers of French Revolution—Rousseau and Voltaire—stood for liberty and equality. But they justified their positions from two almost extreme philosophical corners. For Rousseau, instinctively inspired and self-reliant man was alone free and happy, since heis in the "state of nature."[53] Along with the operation of reason inequality stepped in with her parafernalia of slavery, tyranny and misery. Reason leads to the separative tendencies of 'mine' and 'thine'. To avoid struggle people come together and say, let us, "instead of turning our forces against ourselves, collect them in a supreme power which may govern us by wise laws, protect and defend all members of the association, repulse their common enemies, and maintain

eternal harmony among us."[54] By such social contract civic society was formed. But government too often endangers liberty and equality for the protection of which the contract is made, and finally it adopts " the law of the strongest."[55]

The whole march of civilization, according to Rousseau, takes man from liberty to despotic tyranny, poverty and slavery. "The establishment of property and Law" is the root of inequality. Then to overthrow such a reign becomes a duty, since the members of the social contract are no more bound to obey the authorities[56] that create injustice. Hence, the call for revolution.

Voltaire could not appreciate this taste for primitive innocence and equality. As against Rousseau, he believes in the beneficial character of property, since he has no faith in common man, he hesitates to vote for republic. Yet he prefers no definite form of government. Because he is all for reason as well as for liberty, he never dreams of violent revolutionary action to overthrow unjust state of order. This is not to maintain the *Status quo*. Education and peaceful means alone can achieve liberty and happiness. Civilization is an advancement upon the primitive self-sufficiency. There are, of course, the ills of civilization, but in order to drive them out only the path of mutual consideration and rational approach should be accepted.[57] He believed in the right of equal liberty of all. But liberty can be had only if people obey laws. His love for liberty made him assert the famous democratic principle involved in what he maintained "I do not agree with a word that you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."[58]

These inspirers of the Democratic revolutions can even to-day serve as guiding stars. But what is the condition of democracy in America, Britain and France ? The two world wars have changed the face of the earth. But they are undoubtedly, though partly, the consequences of colonialism and imperialism supported by these Democracies. The values of democracy are crushed no less under its own reign than at the hands of dictators. But the shocks

of the two world wars have brought the economy in the democracies, particularly in Britain, to a crumbling position. And thus in order to compromise somehow the demands of justice and liberty, the new ideal of *Welfare State* has been put forth. "The welfare state is organised to ensure the well-being of its citizens and to use their resources to that end."[59] It is a gradual development of the idea behind the Elizabethan Poor Law. During the period of 1834 to 1848 the state has increasingly extended its region of responsibility from the poor to all. This was made imperative because the Industrial Revolution had created the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.[60] The war situation compelled the state to make its economy citizen-centred to safeguard equality. Hence the word 'Welfare State' epitomises the contrast of warfare and welfare.[61] It has been pointed out that this has been achieved without taking resort to the Nazi-like dictatorial regime. Nor have the Parliamentary Government enabled the people to come out of the difficult economic situation by keeping before them the allurement of some future ideal economic conditions, as the Russians have done. The Welfare State is a typical empirical approach of the English.[62]

But are the propounders of Welfareism satisfied with what they have achieved? Not in the least! It has been admitted that "in its very essence, it is the most degrading political phiolsophy which has ever betrayed a country."[63] State-assistance in all matters from birth to funeral, and from housing to education, proves itself morally degrading. The citizens naturally take welfare too much for granted. It is in fact a negation of self-rule. Besides this, it has been rightly criticised as "a hotch-potch of administrative units, tangle of legislative complexity and a junlge of vested interests.[64] All this shows that though well-intentioned, welfare state becomes a caricature of true democracy.

These Western thoughts on revolution and evolution have contributed much to the Sarvodaya ideology. The Sarvodaya thinkers,

however, are critical in accepting the heritage, both from the East and the West. In simple humility Vinoba says, that since the present-day thinkers and revolutionaries follow these seers historically, they are privileged to stand on their ([illegible]ers') shoulder and thus are able to see a little farther than th[illegible]s of the past.[65] Human situations arising out of the inter-actions of persona-lities and environment create new horizons. That is why the Sarvodaya ideology could give rise to the concept of a non-violent revolution. It has conceived of a new dynamism in the eternal values of individual life, so as to work for the integral revolution in the human society. In the next chapter we shall examine some more attempts at revolutionising human life on the socialistic and communistic lines. As we shall see, the Sarvodaya has much to learn from these experiments.

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Chapter Five

THE SOCIALISTIC CONCEPTS OF IDEAL SOCIETY

I. Socialism and Sarvodaya

From the point of view of the vision of the future of mankind Sarvodaya and Socialism come very near to each other. The ultimate state of human affairs in both the ideologies is almost the same. It has been expressed in the principle : " from each according to his ability, and to each according to his need." Hence, it is that even the Indian Communist leader—E.M.S. Namboodiripad—admits that the objective of the Sarvodaya movement " is as revolutionary as any socialist or communist would have. "[1] But there is a vast gulf between the ways and methods employed by them in their respective movements. Thus Gandhi calls himself a socialist with a difference. And the difference is not of a minor consideration. The centre of the Sarvodaya social order, namely—the supreme value of individual freedom and non-violence, is poles apart from the pivot of violent overthrow of present social order, round which the communistic practice–though not ideology—moves. Hence, while criticising the over-simplified comparison between communism and Gandhian ideology (*i.e.Sarvodaya*) Vinoba remarks that to say that " Gandhism is communism minus violence "[2] is to grant that a living human body resembles a dead one, the only difference being that of mere breathing.[3] But the contribution of the socialist and communist thought should not be overlooked. Vinoba acknowledges that capitalism is now a spent-up force.[4] The future of humanity is in the hands of those who speak on behalf of the oppressed humanity.[5] Both Sarvodaya and Socialism-Communism are bent upon rooting out exploitation in one and all forms. Hence, it

will be helpful for us to study the socialist movements broadly in order to understand the Sarvodaya approach.

II. The Birth of Socialism

Soon after the advent of Industrial Revolution and along with growing attraction of the values of French Revolution, there sprang in Europe a flood of visionaries, worshiping some ideals of social order, in and through which humanity would reach the highest stage that it is capable of. Possessing genuine faith in human potentials and displaying hope in the future of man they sought to realise what they visualised.

At the time when the Industrial Revolution was welcomed as the first phase of heaven on earth, St. Simon (1760-1825 A.D.) conceived of a society in which work was a virtue, and the government's only business was to put and keep men at work.[6] Society was an ideal workshop. Scientists, intellectuals and industrialists were to be the authorities guiding social affairs. Naturally, the execution of policies rested on the bankers. Too much of individualism spreads social apathy, hence masses were to be respected instead of man. But to Simon " the action of man on man is in itself always harmful to the species " and the only useful action is "the action of man over things."[7] Hence, administration—and not government, that is to be equated with force of man over man—was to find the place of honour in St. Simonian society. To him technocrats instead of diplomats represented the ideal of future society.[8]

But Fourier (1772-1837) and Proudhon (1809-65 A. D.) did not join in the eulogy of industrialization. On the contrary, they detected in it the seeds of too much centralization, that strips the workers of their initiative and creativity. They pinned their faith on the small communities enjoying autonomy and voluntary co-operation. To Fourier agriculture was the source of real culture of man.[9] Man's work should be a fountain of joy, in production there should be the seed of satisfaction and life as a whole, a thing

of beauty. Anarchist Proudhon valued liberty of man over all other considerations. In small communities democracy can be established. Politicians that exploit people through state, should find no place in the ideal society.[10] It will be based on the "organising principles" of localism and federalism.[11] In this society property will be theft. Justice and individual freedom, as the values of socialism, could be realised only when men associate for work, feel responsible for it, and find self-expression through it.

Though an industrialist, Robert Owen (1771-1858 A. D.) did his best to develop ideal community-life in his colony of New Harmony[12] on the lines of co-operation among workers, and of balance between agriculture and industry. He believed in the beneficial effect of good environment on character and hoped to create moral order thus.

As against Louis Blanc (1811-82) and Lassalle, the "true socialists."[13] Bruno Bauer (1809-82), Moses Hess (1812-75) and Karl Grun (1813-87) looked askance at the state and political power. Men's good will and power of education alone served for them as the hope of future utopia.[14] This utopia was to be realised by an outright rejection of existing order—not violently but peacefully and relying on men's inherent goodness.

But none of these socialists, except St. Simon, seemed to be conscious of the coming era of class struggle, as did the new creed of Syndicalism. Industrialism had accentuated that struggle beyond imagination. Hence, a radical change in the then existing unjust social order could be brought about only through the sharpening of the fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Syndicalism of Sorel (1847-1922) holding the weapon of strike, aimed at complete revolution and for that "proletarian violence not only makes the future revolution certain but seems to be the only means"[15] to it. Workers in unions should develop hatred and revenge for the preparation of a nationwide strike, which would violently paralyse the state and then should usurp power. By

rejecting rational argument and good-will, Syndicalism established its "reason of non-reason."[16]

It is evident that not only the thought-world but the social, economic and political spheres of human life in France, England and Germany underwent the pangs of socialstic experiments of the revolutionists and the evolutionists. But none of the attempts proved of conspicuous consequences as did Marx's and Engel's. The sincere but abortive strivings of the early socialists were bound to fail according to Marx and Engels, since almost all of them made the unpardonable mistake of ignoring the triumphant and inexorable march of human history, working mainly through economic strings of human life and demanding appropriate action on the part of the heroes of the new era. Of course, the time was not ripe for them and hence the inevitability of their failure in insight and action.[17] Naturally, the prophets of the new world dismissed them either as "Utopian" or as "Bourgeois" socialists.

III. The Scientific Approach of Marx and Engels

Marx detested all romanticism, emotionalism and humanitarianism that were fashionable at his time.[18] Appeal to moral principles and to the universal recognitions of democratic values was to him a "peculiarly vicious form of hypocrisy or self-deception," since there was nothing like eternal justice and equality or fundamental rights of individuals. Convictions of sincere individuals could not alter the laws of history.[19] Hence, it was wise to study, in the minutest details, the evolution of human society on all sides, and to come to the definite conclusion about the future of humanity. And this scientific approach convinced Marx that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."[20] After witnessing the struggle between "free men and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, the oppressor and oppressed,"[21] in the last resort the society in the first half of the 19th century was split up

into "two great hostile camps"[22] directly facing each other—the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

But in a dialectical and determined manner history moves forward to end the miseries of the oppressed—the victims of the newly flowered Industrial system of society. Man's basic activity, namely, the economic striving—itself ever developing—determined the whole panorama of social, political and moral-religious pattern of society at a given time. Its literature, art and culture bear the stamp of the economic era.[23] When the forces determining the economic life of a society are captured and controlled by the oppressed class, the condemned class, along with its tyrannical institutions of state property and family, is swept away through the active agency of history as it were.[23a] And it seems, as though, the unconsciously conscious flow of evolving nature reaches the acme of development where the duality, as also the struggle, vanish and the dawn of classless society[24] gladdens the hearts of the revolutionaries. The State is the symbol of bourgeois exploitation and it now withers away. Then who will exploit whom? The internal contradiction of the bourgeois society, in which all values all occupations and all labour were dominated by and transformed into the commodities of market,[25] could not but wipe out the old order, giving place to the new one. In the womb of darkness there is the light. The old society by rescuing the majority "of the population from the idiocy of rural life"[26] and allowing them to herd in masses in big cities, offered them the opportunity to unite irrespective of national, racial and sexual distinctions, and equipped them with weapons to fight against the ruling class.[27] The end of private property would ensure the resolution of all temptation to exploit. What the workers needed to do was to seek the guidance of the communists who, tracing the steps of history, fortified and hastened the emancipatory forces of destiny. The ideal human society will be an "association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."[28] But

for its establishment a drastic step was essential. The workers were, therefore, exhorted to unite and to abolish, violently if necessary, the old regime of chains and tears and to establish for the time being "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In this ideal society, buying and selling, accumulating and profiting; all of which are at the root of capitalistic exploitation of one by the other, would find no place.[29] The satisfaction of wants and the enrichment of social and individual relations, which go to develop all-round personalities, are to be looked after by the society.[30] Life in common is the life of freedom and joy, in its realm no state wields the spectre of oppression. For this aim Marx and Engels struggled, not theoretically but practically, shaping the events of history and guiding the revolutions in society. Though the '1848' and the Paris Commune in 1874 proved unsuccessful, yet their experience of failure itself paved the way to success in 1917—Russia.

This historical determinism, according to which human history is a single non-repetitive but law-abiding process—the laws being more like those of Geology and Botany than those of physics and Chemistry—Marx accepted in toto from Hegel[31] along with his dialectical method. These laws allow a process of continuous change, in which each stage follows on its previous one and gives birth to the coming new one, handing over to it its own essence. This dynamism progresses in dialectical fashion—creating theses, struggling against antitheses and transforming both these in an altogether different third entity—synthesis. But Marx's study of Feuerbach's "Theses on the Hegelian Philosophy" and the teachings of the French socialists and English economists had convinced him that Hegel's Idealism had merely enthroned Spiritual Reality in the place of Christian God—both of whom shun all rational discussion.[32] Dialectical method worked in the thought-process but that did not prove the priority of spirit to matter. What could be tested and experimented on in daylight alone could com-

mand validity.[33] His rational empiricism compelled Marx to prefer Materialism to Idealism, and without the slightest doubt about the logical incompatibility of carrying the dialectic from the realm of spiritual reality to the materialist's world, he unhesitatingly establihsed Dialectical Materialism.[34] Hence, the actual material conditions of life determine the evolutionary process which ends at every stage in creative revolution—both in society and nature.[35] The principle of the historical motion must be sought in social relationships which, according to Marx, are the economic factors. They shape every other aspect of human life. In the incessant process of history, nations and races are but ripples vanishing at the next advancing wave of evolution. Eternal is the flux and perhaps man's economic nature. Those who follow the lead of history, attain success ; others, who vainly oppose it, perish. Hence, Marx's denouncement of the existing order of society was based on historical necessity backed by the nature of existence, and not on any ideal.[36] This metaphysical certainty gave Marx the air of a genuine prophet speaking on behalf of the ultimate Reality—though in his case it was material. He prophesied that the eternal conflict was to come at last to its last halt in the form of the Bourgeoisie versus the Prolctariat in society. When their battle would be fought, conflict would subside for ever, then alone the history of the free human individual would begin.[37]

IV. Marx's Contribution And The Aftermath of Revolution

The credit definitely goes to Marx for emphatically declaring the possibility of the doom of inequality, poverty and exploitation in the human world for the first time in history. It was he who first worked for an international revolution. For this purpose, he appealed to the workers of the world to unite for the end of human miseries.[38] Paradoxically enough, his attempts aimed at convincing the society that these miseries are man-made ; and man alone can and should eradicate them root and branch. He categorically

announced the ultimate coherence of human interests, though in the process they seem to collide. Though his working was based on partial and prejudiced reading of the societies around him, it reduced humanity only to two conflicting blocks, instead of a variety of nations and races contesting for supremacy. He pointed out that the emancipation of the lowest strata of society is really the emancipation of humanity. Equality does not mean to him equality of classes but the abolition of them. And this should not be done in a dogmatic and emotional way but scientifically and systematically. Himself coming from the intellectual middle class, Marx's devotion and hard work throughout his life to give adequate expression to the cause of misery and to the scientific statement and application of its remedy, reveal such sublime features of his character as to arouse reverence and admiration even in the minds of those who do not approve of his doctrines.

As it is often found in the history of philosophy, any attempt at providing a straight-jacket of philosophy of history to life, is bound to fail. The creative force of life allows no human intervention and obeys no rules imposed by human intellect. It relentlessly disproves predictions and leaves one astonished in the midst of unexpected and quite novel turnings in human society. Otherwise, an intellectual giant like Marx would have had prevision of the events in Russia, Germany, England and France and would have revised the editions of his *Capital* and the Communist Manifesto accordingly. The question of peasantry, the role of middle-class and intelligentsia, the attraction of nationalism and racialism and the instinctive attachment to religion, all these factors deciding the course of human history in modern times would not have suffered indifference at his hands. The history of the human world after Marx up to the end of the Second World War speaks eloquently of the failure of Marx's judgement.[39]

And it is not merely facts, but the inherent logic of the dialectic of Marx's philosophy itself makes the realization of classless society

a false hope. No ideology of universal approach can stop short of embracing the whole universe. The dialectic knows no rest till it reaches the end of duality. And since the method of violence brings the struggle to the surface of physical existence, the two camps of the human world are bound to fight till the extinction of human race. Unless the dialectic turns inwards by renouncing violence and resolves the duality in the psychological world of man, there is no future to humanity.

Marx himself would have been pained to witness the fiasco of his heavenly vision when " withering away of the state" became a meaningless slogan in the mouth of a dictator, who crushed all liberty in the name of " Socialism in one country ". Well-organised and strongly centralised party, wherein unity and not democracy got the upper hand, inevitably liquidated the bourgeoisie and the anti-revolutionaries as Lenin had judged, but it equally ignored the proletariat, who was to be autonomous after the violent overthrow of the old order. E. H. Carr observes, compromise after the revolution nullifies the universality of its appeal and it gets the local colour of the tradition of one country.[40]

This points to a serious defect in Marx's so called ' scientific ' approach to human problem. He commits the fallacies of non- and mal-observation when he takes into account only environmental and material conditions of life as determining the destiny of humanity. Again, he does not fully realise the implications of the economic nature of man on which he lays so much stress. The overthrow of the oppressive class and its regime in the external world, need not, and cannot, uproot the desire to dominate and oppress, to covet and to hate, from the minds of the protelariat as also of the leaders of revolution. After all, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie both belong to the same species possessing one common heritage of human race, and as such both in essence are of uniform psychological nature. If abolition of class-distinctions and the possibility of exploitation necessitate bloody extinction of the

oppressing class, the complete disappearance of all will-to-dominate logically demands the act of suicide on the part of the proletariat.[41] If this sounds absurd, irrational and unscientific, the violent dispersal of the bourgeois class is no more rational and scientific. It reveals[42] impatience and emotionalism which Marx himself denounced. What he ought to have seen is the truth that the change in the environment does not in fact bring mutation of evil tendencies in human mind. The target of true revolution, therefore, should be more to remove the psychological propensities that come in the way of social liberty, equality and true justice, than to have the old social institutions alone in a changed garment.

Moreover, a true revolutionary should have the discrimination of end and means. If peace and happiness, brotherly feeling and co-operation, are to be sought as ideals, violence and misery, enmity and competition should find no place in the technique of revolution. If freedom and equality are to be aimed at, democratic tradition and spirit of service should be established instead of dictatorial regime. If the state is a symbol of tyranny, the process of its dissolution should start from the beginning in and through the preparation of the oppressed class for revolution. And for this the human world need not suffer the bifurcation of itself into two hostile camps. Even Marx admitted that man is potentially wise.[43] Then the bourgeoisie must also be capable of understanding what is right and wrong and of following the suit of the revolutionary. The creed that believes in the rationality of man should in no case succumb to the illegitimate idea of transformation of humanity through violence. If Marx came to believe in educating the masses and preparing them for the new era after his disappointing experience of the chosen few in the revolution of 1848[44], that same education should transform even the bourgeoisie.

Again, it is not merely that human science is not like physics and chemistry, but it cannot be on a par with geology and botany, since man is on a higher evolutionary plane, and laws governing

the lower strata of evolution cannot be conceived of as controlling the affairs of a higher one. Hence, it is quite conceivable that at the human level, instead of strife and enmity, co-operation and friendly understanding might lead humanity to real progress.

The fact is, that Marx is led to believe in the inevitability of strife and violence because of his dialectical approach to reality. Thesis and antithesis are diametrically opposed to each other and only one relation between them can subsist, namely, that of opposition and enmity. But this contention may be based on a partial observation of human and even animal and plant life. A seed can be said to be sprouting with the help of earth, air and sunlight. And a healthy human society prospets only if all the members of it co-operate in enriching social life. When humanity has to strive hard for its progress, the struggle may be against the forces of nature and not against a part of its own species. As Vinoba says,[45] it is a tyranny of concepts to call the act of motherly love in feeding a child as an indication of conflict between the mouth of the child and its mother's breasts.

It is curious that emphasising moral relativity that allows opportunism of the worst kind, Marx at the same time grasps a categorical imperative of joining hands with the revolutionary forces. To him, as to Hegel, the judgement of fact is the judgement of value.[46] Real is rational and therefore ideal. Naturally, all that is lost is inevitably bad. And this is a dangerous criterion, since when 'is' dictates 'should' there is every possibility of the rise of the cult of *status quo* which actually found adherents in some nations that followed Hegel's philosophy.

Even in the dynamically determined course of history man, Marx inconsistently maintained, is free to befriend any of the alternative camps of human society. Of course, this freedom is identical with the knowledge of the laws of necessity[47] and hence of no real significance. But it is interesting to note that by giving exposition to his revolutionary theory and leading a revolutionary life, Marx, as

an individual, dynamically influenced the environment and changed the course of history in many a nation. To be true to history, it has been sufficiently proved that circumstances and individuals together by acting and reacting, shaping and moulding each other carry the evolution further, on and on. Hence, instead of being a play-thing in the hands of the rigidly determined environment, man can triumphantly surpass it and prove his autonomous nature.

V. The Mechanism of Success

We find Lenin, the legitimate heir of Marx in Russia, upholstering the revolution with sharpened dialectical method and strengthened materialistic principles, so as to lead the proletariat to his pre-destined position of a dictator. With earnest sincerity for the cause of revolution, and with all good intentions, he worked in a way that resulted into opportunism and moral lassitude. Of course, the state was to wither away, but only after the completion of the revolution which demanded not merely unity of purpose but the acute enmity of all else except the revolutionary of the Bolshevic type.[48] Even the socialists who differed from the Bolsheviks were treated as enemies of revolution. And this formed a definite part of the " Communist philosophy of conduct. "[49] This necessitated the strictly disciplined and rigidly organised party, in which the replacement of " the organization by the central committee and finally of the central committee by the dictator "[50] for the usurpation of power. But despite his faith in human goodness, and not withstanding his attempts to give autonomy to the local Soviets in administration, after the revolution, the very mechanism which brought success, compelled the leaders to centralize all the functions done by the Soviets, and ultimately the myth of the " workers' control " proved itself to be a force " united into one solid state apparatus."[51]

The socialist thinker G. D. H. Cole gives his impressions of the Russian revolution thus :—At the outset " I simply did not understand the full implications of Leninism as denying the validity of

any moral code applicable to all men, irrespective of their class connections or attitudes, and mistakenly supposed that the excesses, which I could not but deeply disapprove, were a legacy from the inhumanities of Czarism, aggravated by the critical conditions of semi-starvation and of civil war and would be repudiated by the Bolshevik leaders themselves, as soon as the Revolution had got past the phase of its most acute peril. I see now that I was wrong about this, and that the ruthlessness and the 'rejection of so-called 'bourgeois' notions of morality formed an integral part of the Bolshevik attitude."[52]

Stalin only aggravated and consolidated a practice that had already gone a long way in Lenin's life-time.[53] In his colossal attempt at nation-building by crushing all opposition, he proved the maxim, power corrupts and absolute power—[though at the beginning wielded for the progressive dissolution of power]—corrupts absolutely. To tighten his grip over authority, Stalin naturally spreads the net of mass-politics. The victims of such a social order experience atomization and de-personalization in the midst of amorphous crowds in which no sweetness of human relations softens the tensions.[54] The dream of free and equal man in a stateless society, which was to be actualized after the revolutionary upsurge, withers away in the nothingness leaving behind, in the cover of a new version of socialism, the ghost of dictatorship—not of the proletariat but—of a self-appointed and so-called leader of the people.

In China Mao Tse Tung has carried the people to revolution on parallel lines. But China being predominently a peasant country he had to include peasants in the revolutionary classes, "The establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all Chinese revolutionary classes headed by the Chinese Proletariat"[55] is the first step towards the final goal of the socialist society in China, according to Mao. In contrast with the Western Democracies, the Democracy of the Kuomintang "stands for some-

thing to be shared by all the common people and not be monopolised by a few.[56] But what is the nature of this "new-democratic government?" Under its regime the state-system is "the joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes"[57] and the political structure is 'democratic centralism'! With a fanatic's adherence to the dogma of metaphysical and economic determinism and a blind faith in the method of crushing all, except those who accept the cult, the revolutionaries have enabled New China to be one of the big powers deciding the fate of humanity to-day.

VI. The New Awareness

It seems that the socialists in the west, particularly those in England, had a pre-vision of this nightmarish future resulting from the blind and unbalanced attachment to a short-sighted target. The realistic empiricism of the different schools of socialism in Europe reveals itself through acceptance of gradualism and belief in the lawful means of achieving the ends of revolution. Such calm and considerate approach enabled them to succeed in blunting the edge of capitalism. Naively many of them had clung to "collectivism" and nationalization, as the remedy for all the ills of a capitalistic society. But when the Russian experiment disillusioned them by failing to secure the classless society and ending in "moral collapse,"[58] they realised that socialism is not a "fixed set of institutions"[59] and also that "to pit class against class, in the end, leads to a naked struggle for power and advantage destroying the very values which socialists wish most to uphold."[60] Moreover, they have become conscious that along with the "changes in the social structure"...."there must be changes in human attitudes and relationships as well"[61]. Then alone "a world in which the development of the individual personality is the basis for the fruitful development of mankintd"[62] can be established. For this end freedom, fellow-feeling and equality are set up as the ideal of socialist striving.

It is really noteworthy that the socialists are now convinced that "the material values no longer provide satisfaction, or incentive or social purpose,"[63] and that the basic distinction between capitalism and socialism is that of the values of life.[64] That is why material progress leading man to the insatiable thirst of more and more production of more and more things—irrespective of the questions "what is produced?" and "how it is produced?"[65]—can never serve as the criterion of human progress. In the second-half of the twentieth century the socialists are ready to retrospect and observe the consequences of their hitherto accepted methods and ends. They have gone a long way since the dawn of Socialism in Europe to secure economic and social welfare for all the members of society. The welfare state that has almost solved the problem of unemployment and has taken enough care of education, medical aid and sufficient leisure of its citizens, can be said really to be the socialistic strivings for equality and justice. But a new anxiety now disturbs the peace of mind of the consciencious socialist; "......in a society lulled into complacency by material comforts, the struggle for socialism will lose its old dynamic and, in the end, be abandoned."[66] The dignity of human personality and the quality of his life are now forgotten ideals. And this triumph of the capitalist's values is due to the socialist's joining the competitive race of production. Production, distribution and exchange have been his primary concern. Now in the days of "waning idealism" he speaks of "checks and balances", of planning through strategic participation by state and of "industrial Democracy" and "social accountability" as the remedy to the newly developed "managerism" and the workers' indifference to the ideals of socialism.

Even when one should pay due respect to the praise-worthy attempt on the part of the socialists at compensating the fundamental weakness of modern capitalistic civilization, one cannot but feel dissatisfied with their half-hearted and hesitant approach to human life as a whole. No matter how many times one changes

the bandages and applies balms to the visible signs of a deep rooted and fundamental wound, it is futile to hope against hope for a complete cure. When the issue of life and death of humanity challenges the thinkers of the world, it is no use sticking to certain concepts of civilization and making them a point of honour.

The real question is—what is the place and value of work in human life? If it is not merely a function contributing to social existence but a genuine means of self-expression which alone shapes character of individual workers, is it not necessary to enquire into the nature of work and its psychological, intellectual and moral implications for the workers? If the mass-and-machine production in the modern age has rendered work "an unrelenting monotony" which "consists to a large and ever increasing extent of dull, repetitive tasks which contribute nothing but boredom to the life of the worker,"[67] it is no use saying that "what he loses in his individuality and personal discretion, he may gain in a new consciousness of a community effort and a new world of work-relationships."[68] No well has yet been heard of as replenished by the waters of the spring when it needs to be filled by buckets! As the socialist is not ready to abandon the idolatory of large-scale production and considers that there is "no turning back on machine,"[69] it is evident that he refuses to count the individual as the supreme value in human life. If man has made machine for his benefit, he can equally modify it, if it is the demand of his liberty. This need not frighten the modern man since it will not be a return to the primitive age where every aspect of human life was in an undeveloped state. But it certainly does mean, that for the sake of full development of intellect, integrity and wholeness of character, and responsible attitude towards life on the part of each and every individual in society, his work in which he spends an important portion of his day, should be a source of satisfaction and joy to him. What is to be understood, therefore, is that man should not be made to adapt himself to machines, but the machine should be made to

adapt itself so as to enable man to develop integrally. And the machine has not any right to encroach upon the developmental spring of the workers' lives. Work need not be considered to be a necessary evil which is to be tolerated if society is to survive. It is a natural and necessary activity giving every opportunity of self-enrichment to the individual. Every attempt should be made to arouse the interest of individual in his work. The Sarvodaya thinkers lay stress on the necessity of bringing artistic approach in the field of work.[70] If the individual is interested in work and derives satisfaction by the exercise of his talents, he will not keep an eye on leisure while working in a workshop.

Besides, the sense of fellow-feeling which the socialists consider as of supreme value, can take root if the economic activity of a social unit binds all its members together. Atomization and de-humanization of individual personality are mainly the results of a craze for large-scale and machine-production and centralization of administration. Then for social cohesion and voluntary co-operation the community should be a self-contained unit, wherein each will have a say in matters of common concern.

Some attempts on these lines have been made by the Guild-Socialists. They propagate " the pluralistic conception of social relations " and insist " on the precedence of economic over political power. " They strive for " industrial democracy " and " direct workers' control of industry. "[71] They even conceived of the state-machine in a non-Marxian way.[72] They thought of " state as having the primary function not of coercion, but of acting as an agent for the supply of common services. "[73] To them State was a " service-institution. "[74] As one of the sympathisers of Guild-Socialism, G. D. H. Cole writes—" Guild Socialism was extinguished as a movement, but it survived as a seminal idea, emphasising the need for industrial as well as political self-government, and for the decentralization of social structures, in order to counteract bureaucratic tendencies and to diffuse social responsibility over as many

persons as possible on a foundation of democratic control through face-to-face working groups.[75]

VII. The Necessity of the Change of Values

On the whole, Socialism has done, indeed, a great service to humanity by unveiling the nature of capitalistic exploitation through Marx's theory of the surplus value of labour. Under capitalism the workers were made to labour on bare subsistence level, and wealth was accumulated with the capitalist. Socialism asserted that the worker should earn wages in proportion to his labour. In fact, the wealth that the members of a society would produce, should belong to the whole society and not to any private individual. This would check the tendency to exploit, and everyone would get whatever is necessary to him. Hence, the famous maxim "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need."[76]

The Sarvodaya leaders rightly point out that if this ideal is to be realised, each and every individual should be made conscious of his responsibility and duty. The concept of the purely economic man belongs to the capitalistic way of thinking. Luxury and prestige, power and pomp, are the values of capitalism. If socialism needs to bring about new values of fellow-feeling and co-operation, it should have to emphasise the value of neighbourly feeling. What the Sarvodaya thinkers call 'the human touch in production' ought to be taken notice of by the socialists. This is what Gandhi meant when he said that socialism can be realised only through non-violence.[77] The concept of work as a reverential act for the benefit and honour of human personality can revolutionise the nature of industry. As G. D. H. Cole also remarks, it is not necessary that socialism should be realised either through a process of capitalism or through a gradual process of parliamentary reforms.[78] It can be realised in a novel form hitherto unconceived.

We find that the concentration of wealth and power in the so-called democracies of the West and in the Socialistic states threatens

not merely the values of life but life itself. At such a juncture the ego-centric tendencies should be superseded by the altruistic tendencies in human nature. The workers of the world need to be organised and educated. They should realise that to-day the whole of humanity has been turned into their neighbourhood and therefore it is necessary to equate one's good with the good of all. Then the workers will not be indifferent to the miseries of the people in colonies and slave-nations that provide the luxuries of the welfare state. The Sarvodaya workers hope that when the workers will be vigilant in their own communities and will estimate liberty and self-rule above all, they will help to choose the economic and social structure that will ensure peace and freedom for the all-round development of man and society.

This indeed appears to be a strong dose of idealism which may not be digestible to the common man. But the Sarvodaya thinkers believe in the capacity of common man to rise to a higher stature. One may hope that the compelling circumstances, together with an education in disinterestedness, can awaken the sense of responsibility of common man in the making of human destiny. The Sarvodaya thinkers too have to take heed of the human nature as it is today and thus to work out a comprehensive educational system for the transformation of human nature in the possibility of which they have firm faith. We shall examine this faith in the chapter on the Psychological Consideration of Sarvodaya Thought.

What comes in the way of accepting this possibility as an ideal is the realistic empiricism of socialism. Like Materialism it too does not carry man beyond the concept of enlightened self-interest. That is why the enthusiastic socialist who is bent upon bringing fusion of morality and politics cannot answer the 'why' of moral life. In his unveiled letter to socialist friends Jayaprakash Narayan—the former socialist leader—explains how and why he has travelled upto Sarvodaya and did not end his idealistic journey in Socialism.[79] A philosophy of life that reveals unity of not merely

humanity but of all creation, can alone answer this 'why' of morality. " For one who has experienced this unity, the practice of morality becomes as natural and effortless as the drawing of breath. "[80] Then the sense of reverence for life is created which serves as the fountain of fellow-feeling and delight in work and service. To Jayaprakash Narayan " unless Socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya, those goals would remain beyond its reach. "[81]

Again, a political party that seeks power brings limitations to the egalitarian aspirations guiding human affairs. It has been admitted that the Labour Party, when in power, could not progress much on socialistic lines because the electorate was not prepared to back its reforms. Unless some daring and disinterested individuals with an undaunted faith in Man, devote themselves for the task of the awakening of mankind for its march towards new goals, the compelling temptation of power in political and economic life for the politicians and diplomats will pull the legs of humanity and mis-carry its destination. Hence, " A programme of self-rule and self-management must be placed before the people, and by a constructive, non-partisan approach they must be helped to translate it into practice. "[82] The forward march, therefore, will be from power-politics to the politics of the people—from Raja-niti to Loka-niti—as Vinoba puts it. Sarvodaya aims at a society in which decentralization of political power and wealth will be the means of the realization of democratic and socialistic ideals of equality, justice, fellow-feeling and the dignity of human personality. We shall have to study the working of such a society in all its aspects in the following chapter.

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(CHAPTER FIVE)

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Chapter Six

THE SARVODAYA SOCIAL ORDER

I. The Goal of Freedom and Self-reliance

A critical appreciation of the ups and downs in human evolution reveals man's incessant struggle for freedom and self-reliance. In the last two chapters we have studied some attempts in the ideological, religious, cultural and political fields at removing the obstacles in the way to human freedom. The biologists and psychologists have come to the conclusion that with man a revolution in the animal-kingdom has come to stay. Man alone is self-conscious ; " ..... he is for the first time, life aware of itself. "[1] He is subject to nature's dictates, but is free in thought and possesses a capacity to mould his own nature.[2] Hence, in his life there is a double pull—both regressive and progressive.[3] All the attempts aimed at man's freedom from external and internal entanglements can, therefore, be said to be moved by the progressive urge.

In this context we can understand the Sarvodaya ideal of " enlightened anarchism "[4] in a better way. The Sarvodaya thinkers have conceived of a state of things where man becomes independent of external authority and internal tyranny of passions.[5] Gandhi maintained, " It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves..... But such Swaraj has to be experienced by each one for himself. "[6] To attain this state, one has to rise above one's mental plane. Vinoba poignantly remarks " unless society rises above the mind, there can be no equality and peace. "[7] Such individuals realise, according to Sarvodaya, the spiritual unity of not only humanity, but of all creation.

A spiritually awakened individual is one who has cleared his account as a particular man with petty selfish aspirations, limited

horizon of interests and childish loyalties to his group or nation. He lives for all, fulfilling his social obligations and enriching his individuality. Such a man alone can meet the challenge of the present human situation, according to Vinoba.[8] And this ideal of human life is not confined to some chosen few. The glorious human civilization, that is to be built, will not be the work of some saints or kings. The arbitors of the coming new era are the common men and women.[9] It is they who will have to walk fearlessly and patiently towards the destiny of human liberation.

Like Plato, Gandhi also held that in its very nature an ideal is only imperfectly realizable.[10] Like Euclid's point it is ever unrealised.[11] But at the same time, though it sounds paradoxical, even when it is never attained, it should not be beyond one's grasp.[12] The Sarvodaya thinkers lay stress on one's own initiative and attempt for the realization of the ideal of the age of Truth—*Krta Yuga*.[13]

II. Democracy To-day

As practical idealists, the Sarvodaya thinkers start with the present political conditions in India. Their thinking has, of course, to be understood in the world of political context. Gandhi had worked in the Indian National Congress that stood for democracy. Gandhi, like all other national leaders, upheld the parliamentary system. He maintained, "By Swaraj I mean the government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population .. ."[14] But he accepted the parliamentary democracy only as better than any other totalitarian governments ruling at his time. For him the best type of government would have been one that worked unanimously. He declared, "In matters of conscience the law of majority has no place",[15] since no school of thought that[16] represents majority can claim a monopoly of right judgment. In his *Hind Swaraj* he criticised with the severest words the fluctuating character of the decisions

by the parliament which proves to be a mistress of many lords.[17] The majority rule, whatever its claims to safeguard the minority rights, is the offspring of the dictum " greatest good of the greatest number" so much praised by the Liberals, but which fails tragically to become the ideal of a just society. Vinoba points out the weakness of modern democracy—"There is, of course, a form of government which, assuming the name of rule by the people, and the outward appearance of such rule, masquerades in Europe and America. But a government which is based on violence, even though it may pretend to work on the principle of ' one man one vote ', is really not rule by all. "[18] To him democracy that grants universal franchise, but sacrifices minority for the sake of majority, adopts only partial Vedanta which leads inevitably to the mere appearance of liberty and equality. " Only unanimous views expressed by all should be considered right. "[19]

To be just, one should acknowledge the important and progressive role played by the parliamentary democracy in the development of political life of humanity. To refuse to obey the laws of an autocratic emperor whether tyrannical or benevolent, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, was itself a revolution—the credit of which goes to the early democrats. The parliamentary method, as the most convenient way of asserting the will of the people, with the technique of keeping balance through oppositional parties ensured peace and happiness, at least to an extent, in the politically conscious and responsible citizens in society.[20] But the twentieth century society in which many diverse currents of social, economic and political thoughts and practices, along with the amazing technological developments, have brought tremendous changes and convulsions proves the majority rule not merely morally but factually a negation of democratic values.

Most of the present-day democratic thinkers have come to the definite conclusion about the nature of the idol of ' majority ' in the modern free society. The so-called public opinion is not an ex-

pression of the harmony of purpose and the consensus of the people in general, it is manufactured in the *factory of society* in which different party-machines are run by the big political bosses guided by the values of the market. How the technological advancement, as also the diplomatic manoeuvours of power-elites reinforced by the life-devouring sensate values, have rendered the common man helpless in discriminating truth and falsity, is well discussed by Erich Fromm in his " Sane Society " and by P. Sorokin in " Power and Morality. " The individual is lost in the midst of the " disorganised dust of individuals " which is called society.[21] The capitalistic competitive struggle for wealth, which has also transformed itself into that for power, is playing havoc in the political field. It works through the instruments of bribery, fraud, threats and murders used in the elective campaigns.[22] No wonder, the poor, alienated, abandoned and demoralized individual, lacking in responsibility and effective volition sells his vote for the government which is run for the politicians and by the politicians.[23] Besides, when a majority-party gets elected, it can establish dictatorial regime till the next election. Formal parliamentarianism, therefore, has no real democratic value.[24]

It might be argued that this picture displays the weakness of the Western Democratic society, which is the legitimate offspring of capitalism, and therefore has no parallel in Asian under-developed and newly liberated societies. As such, the parliamentary form of democracy, as some suggest, may prove suitable to preserve and develop democratic values in Asia. But this may only be outwardly true. The developmental schemes of the governments, the tendency of the general elites and demagogues and the poverty-striken dumb millions in Asian countries—one and all aspire to attain the prosperity of the western and the communistic countries. The danger that the western people will choose " security to liberty"[25] is much more true in the case of these backward countries. Besides in many of them the old imperialistic centra-

lised bureaucratic systems are kept in tact even after liberations.[26] At the same time in the economically robbed society, fractionalized by castes and classes, different political parties through their election contests, contribute to general confusion, superstitious and irresponsible behaviour. In an interview Pt. Nehru, the late P. M. of India, admitted that "rowdyism and casteism as a new political weapon" played a notable part in the general elections in India in 1962.[27] And all this, inspite of the adoption of the "Code of Conduct" by the different political parties jointly ! Linguistic provincialism, communalism, casteism and other entrenched reactionary forces have poisoned the political parties of India.[28] Hence, the ignorant man, not only in India but all over Asia, is no less helpless and politically exploited than the one in the western society. It is the idea of the capture of power, and not the success of democracy, that envigorates the demagogues here.[29] Naturally, if politics is a game for power, it is divorced from morality.[30]

III. *Loka-Niti*—the Assurance of True Democracy

It is this scene of political life that Vinoba considers as guided by *Rajaniti*—the science of achieving political power—against the background of which stands the political thought of Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya exhorts the people to accept *Lokaniti*—the ethic of the people in social life—by eschewing *Raja-niti* in his "Last Will and Testament" Gandhi had expressed a wish to transform the National Congress that stood "as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine" into a Loka-Sevak-Sangh-an organisation for the service of the people. He believed that it would attain the democratic goal in India by the avoidance of "unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies."[31] This remained merely an unfulfilled dream. As we have seen in the previous chapters, Vinoba's Land-gift and Village-gift movements have been conceived to fulfill Gandhi's dream of village-republics (*Grama-Swaraja*). Through this move-

ment Vinoba hopes to bring political liberty along with the legislative and executive powers from Delhi to the small five hundred thousand villages of India.[32] It can be achieved through the transformation of Raja-Niti into Loka-Niti.

Loka-Niti in contrast with *Raja-Niti* strives to establish the real values of democracy. It is the respectable and equal position of every citizen that constitutes the core of democracy.[33] His liberty irrespective of caste, class and sex, is the life-breath of its successful rule. It is the fact of 'humanity' and not the ability, either physical or intellectual, that guarantees the right to security in every sense of the term, under its domain. But the model of democracy has the other and even more valuable side, namely, that of obligations.[34] Every consciencious citizen is alert in shouldering his responsibilities and abhors external compulsion of every kind.[35] Loka-Niti acknowledges the fact that more the citizen become vigilant about the interest and rights of his neighbours, the less the need of a third intervening agency to set order in human relationships and the better for the mutual co-operation of citizens. Then no coercion need spoil the harmony of the corporate life. Naturally, wakeful self-reliance and willing service, instead of grim authoritarianism and the alluring power, will prove the advancement on democratic lines. For this Gandhi had warned —"Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life."[36] He also detected the dangers of increased governmental power : " I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear, because, although apparently doing odd by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress. "[37] It is for the same reason that Vinoba Bhave warns the people against reliance on State, time and again. The shower of help by government, animated by welfarism should be a cause of anxiety for a real democrat since it blunts the sharpness of critical consciousness and tightens

the knot of external authority, thus working for 'illfare' of the people.[38] To the Sarvodaya thinkers the remedy lies in self-control which alone ensures self-rule. Under it the ruler and the ruled are united. It will be truly government, for each, by each. In the society of self-ruled individuals, needless to say, no electioneering and struggle for power with the whole paraphernalia of propaganda machinery and machiavellian machinations can find any place.

Conversely, the Sarvodaya thinkers maintain, any state, with separted and strongly developed organs of legislation, execution, and judiciary in well organised large societies, cripples the free-play of individual's faculties and curbs his initiative by enlarging the regions of state control. Progressively it attains the position only next to air in its all-pervading nature. No matter whether such government is an elected representative of its people or a dictatorially established one against the will of the people, it unfailingly produces the evils of centralization and hence necessitates its own eradication for the sake of real democracy. It is an outgrown and unhealthy form of a once useful, and perhaps progressive, institution of state under certain conditions in society[39] and not an eternal ingredient of the natural order governing humanity. When the modern centralised state threatens the liberty of individual, of which it professes to be the guardian, it becomes the symbol of violence and a tool of exploitation, and as such loses its right to existence. That is why, according to Vinoba "power must pass into the hands of the people at all levels. Government must continually recede into the background or wither away."[40]

Did not Marx speak of the withering away of the state? Vinoba says, "My difference with the communists comes out of my insistence that the process of withering away of the state must start here and now.. ..". Moreover to try to end the state by capturing it, is tantamount to venture at cutting a tree by standing on its branch.[41] Hence, those who wish to do away with it should

stand out of the snares of politics. It is the most prevalent illusion that through power one can serve the people.[42] But neit herthrough violence nor through governmental machinery, can a revolutionary hope to bring the desired change. It is a moral third strength which is opposed to violence and exploitation, and is other than the state-power, that enables to arouse and develop people's initiative.[43] This new strength, revealing through the devoted and disinterested service of the life-dedicated servant aims at ending the coercive power by the means of education of the people at large.

IV. Decentralization of Political Power

According to Sarvodaya, this can be done only if decentralization of political power is effected.[44] Large constituencies prevent the people, not merely from taking active part in politics but from keeping any direct contact with the elected representative and thus make room for the rule of the chosen and uncontrolled few. The social psychologists maintain that the capacity of average human-being limits his field of active interest. He needs a compact community life in which his personality gets integrated instead of being atomized.[45] For this the ancient tradition of Indian village republics serves as a guidance, and Gandhi was emphatic in saying, that "... a big country, with a teeming population with an ancient rural tradition, which has hitherto answered its purpose, need not, must not, copy the western model."[46] It seems that a host of modern Indian thinkers have a devout respect for the Indian village *panchāyats* of the old for their democratic value.[47] The executive and judiciary power of these panchayāts prevented the kings and emperors from doing great harm to the Indian society, scattered in villages wherein a sort of community-life could be preserved, in spite of political upheavals on a large scale.[48] These attempts are recognised as imperfect, yet honest, ones. Vinoba says, " But in the absence of any co-ordinating arrangement between the various Panchāyats, that attempt must be regarded as unscientific, and inadequate for our present-day

needs."[49] Though they were not ideal communities still the " germ was there. "[50] On similar lines new communities should be developed, in which real cooperation and intimacy, rather than business relations, sweeten the whole of life. " The motto of such community will be in Olivetti's terms " in essential things: unity, in doubt : freedom, in all things : tolerance."[51]

Somewhat clear idea about the politically and socially decentralized ' Communitarian Society ' can be found in Jayaprakash Narayan's book—"A Plea for the Reconstruction of IndianPolity."[52] Though the book presents some suggestios for the re-ordering of Indian society, it serves as a guide to the building of new and non-violent social order in any country. It has been pointed out that no mechanical adherence to a set size should be emphasized. A group of villages, each of which is a self-sufficient unit in itself, in a particular region can stand in such a society as an optimum community with organic internal relationship. Such integrated regional-communities in a district or so, will have further co-ordination for some common purposes. This process of coordination should proceed through provincial and national communities, till the final world community is reached. At this stage a sort of federation will work.[53] According to Vinoba, at this highest peak, moral power alone will rule, while all the material power will reside in the primary units.[54] Consequently, from the point of view of actual authority, there are no higher or lower powers in the different communities at different levels. "Each in its spheres is equally sovereign ",[55] and as we proceed from the inner to the outer communities, the responsibilities grow thinner and thinner. This picture was anticipated by Gandhi. "In this structure, composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid, with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle, whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes

one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle, of which they are integral units."[56]

In each village there will be a village organisation (*Gram Sabha*) comprising all the adult members in the village. By unanimous suggestions, members of the executive or the village-panchayat, would be selected. The ancient Indian villages and modern Quakers' system of reaching a decision by general consensus of the meeting, reveal the practicability of such a technique of selection of leaders. According to J.P. the qualified selected worker in the Panchayat " should not hold the same post for more than a defined period of time."[57] This would root out the possibility of corruption, besides providing opportunity to bring about qualitative democracy. Every other committee set up by the panchayat itself, will also work through the principle of unanimous agreement.

At the optimum level there will be a panchayat samiti or regional committee, members of which will be indirectly elected by the village panchayats each working as a body.[58] According to the most of the Sarvodaya thinkers, it is both impossible and unnecessary to have direct elections at this level from the financial and democratic point of view respectively. In the political field also there will be committees working for coordination at every community from regional to world community level.[59] " Each community has powers to make rules and laws in order to manage its internal affairs, provided, they do not conflict with the interests of other communities at the same level, and with the rules and laws laid down by the communities at higher levels."[60]

Are these indirect elections a retrogrative step from the pure democratic point of view, in the present society? In the present circumstances, according to Gandhi, direct elections are not merely a pompous show of democracy robbing the poor country like India, but a waste of energy in a futile gigantic task of apparently

no democratic value.[61] The profound ignorance of the common man about the specialized functions of the different departments in government, as also of the qualifications of the candidate, disqualifies him for the choice.[62] And even though the common man in the ideal society will be educated and well-informed, the absence of electoral contests in political field, the mutual trust and unanimity of approach to the fundamental issues of life, make it unnecessary that instead of the panchayat as a body each member of the Gram Sabha should vote in elections. It is needless to say that if corruption enters the field of *Panchayati-Raj*, it will end all democracy. The Sarvodaya thinkers emphasise that what matters most is the uncorrupted and uncomplicated social life, filled with mutual understanding and good-will. It is the character of the people and not the particular system in which they are bound together, that guarantees justice.[63]

M.N. Roy has also come to similar conclusion, that individual liberty and popular sovereignty[64] should be saved from the clutches of party machinery and its scramble for power.[65] " Power—divorced from its political associations—is the ability to do things. Hence, the most powerful state may have the most powerless citizens ".[66] Hence, Roy is one with the Sarvodaya thinkers in criticizing power-politics. Like them, he too seeks the remedy in awakening the self-respect and self-reliance of common man.[67] While criticising Communism, Roy denounces pure anarchism as " the absurd Utopia "[68] of " stateless society "—if " it means a society without public administration and co-ordination ".[69] We have seen that the Sarvodaya anarchism considers such coordination essential for the building of world federation. Both the Sarvodaya thinkers and Roy, agree that if democracy is to be real, it should be direct and decentralised, either through Panchayats or through people's committees,"[70] and thus the state should be " co-terminus with the Society."[71] We shall see a similar decentralised approach even in the economic field also.

V. The Economics of Sarvodaya

The general consideration of mutual confidence and urge to do good to all, holds good in the economic sphere of the Sarvodaya Society. In Europe, economic competition in the name of individual freedom and security, led to all sided exploitation of the poor and untalented humanity, and ultimately culminated in centralization and monopolization of political as well as economic power. In an egalitarian society, competition should find no place.[72] For equality of opportunity and peace, new orientation of economic life was a prime necessity. Gandhi called it economics of non-violence. According to him, production in a non-violent society will not be for distant profitable markets.[73] It will be, first of all, for the "immediate neighbour'. He called it Swadesi. The principle of Swadesi suggested him the "universalizing of Khadi or the spinning wheel" to "enable the crores of our semi-starved countrymen to live."[74] The economics of non-violence was not only neighbour-centred, it was also labour-centred. To Gandhi, labour was capital, and this living capital was inexhaustible.[75]

Gandhi also saw the dangers of centralization. To allow centralization of industries and agriculture was to permit exploitation of others and unemployment at home.[76] He advocated 'production by masses', as against 'mass-production'[77] through decentralization of industries. What he wanted was to effect change of values—a change from the "values of money and material wealth, to the moral and human values".[78]

Was Gandhi advocating poverty and backwardness in the name of moral values? He does not stand against real culture and plenty. He used to say, "I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all; I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all."[79] He had, of course, said, "I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the

earth in search of their satisfaction ".[80] In Hind-Swaraj he attacked western civilization and praised the ancient Indian village-system which was, naturally, lacking in advancement of machinery and luxuries of modern civilization.[81] He even seemed to put forth the case for poverty. "The rich are often seen to be unhappy, the poor to be happy. Millions will always remain poor ".[82] But he also maintained, "The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable. Pauperism must go. But industrialism is no remedy ".[83] Addressing the workers he said,—" you ought to get all the ordinary amenities of life that a rich man enjoys. I have not the slightest doubt that Swaraj is not *purna* swaraj until these amenities are guaranteed to you under it. "[84]

It seems that because Gandhi stood for simplicity he was taken to advocate poverty. Being a man for spiritual values he would never allow luxury and pomp to encroach upon human life. He was all for the control of passions and believed that it will lead to glorious civilization. His convictions many times sounded like asceticism. But this does not mean that he regarded scarcity and want as leading to virtues.

Was Gandhi against scientific advancement as such ? It is certain that he abhorred the craze for time-saving devices. It pained him to see that the mad race for comforts was making man indifferent to the nobility of fellow-feeling and compassion. He could see that in the modern civilization man was being estranged in the human world. And his main concern was individual's well-being. This seems to have made his approach to science hazy. But this does not mean that his approach was essentially anti-science. The later Sarvodaya thinkers have a positive approach to science. They recognise and value the contribution of scientific advancement to the sense of unity of whole humanity. They visualise in this the possibility of Visva-manavatva—the world citizenship. They are equally conscious like Gandhi, that physical nearness in itself cannot foster love and consideration for humanity, which should

form the core of world citizen's consciousness. They believe that while confronted with the challenge of situation, modern man will have no choice but to fraternise with the human world, since the alternative is wholesale destruction. Science to be helpful, should be aided by spirituality. Vinoba says that *Vedanta* (spirituality) and *Vijñāna* (Science) should come together to solve the riddles in human life.

It is for this consideration of human well-being that Gandhi and other Sarvodaya thinkers want to eschwe all unwarranted use of machinery. Such mechanization introduces regimentation and conformity in society, besides depriving the individual workers of the full play of their creativity and originality.[85] Gandhi maintained that at least in a country where the problem is not how to save labour but how to provide employment, machine " must not be allowed to displace necessary human labours."[86] He welcomed all improvement in the tools and instruments, so as to lighten the burden and reduce the drudgery of work of individual workers.[87] The nature of machinery, moreover, depends on the regional conditions, time and circumstances. Vinoba says, " It is not merely that I want the machine to stay but improvement in machinery is also desirable ". These are matters of detail.[88] What the Sarvodaya thinkers emphasise is that " scientific truths and discoveries should first of all cease to be mere instruments of greed ". Gandhi said, " I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery , but their limitations".[89]

VI. The Doctrine of Trusteeship

It is not considered enough that centralisation and monopolization should be eliminated. Gandhi offers the doctrine of Trusteeship for the proper use of wealth and talents that inevitably get accumulated with certain individuals because of their natural gifts.[90] This doctrine " does not recognise any right to private ownership of property, except inasmuch as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare."[90a] This doctrine of trusteeship

seems to be the source of Vinoba's call for he altogether abolition of private property in wealth and land. During his pilgrimage on foot for the Land and Village-gift-Movement he asks people to donate all land and wealth to society. The institution of private property, it is sometimes argued, has the good quality of familistic feeling. But Vinoba argues that since in Sarvodaya society, the individual's full development and the spread of the same familistic feeling in social dealings are the prime considerations, nothing of true value gets lost with the abolition of private property.[91] It is true that mere abolition of private property will be of no avail, unless the desire to dominate and exploit others and to enjoy special privilege itself gets nullified. But it can be said to be equally true that by changing the context of social life through its abolition, at least the standing temptation to exploit others gets removed.

Wealth is not the creation of a single individual. It is the outcome of the cooperative efforts of people and natural resources. Even the talents of the gifted individuals are flowered in society through its assistance.[92] Hence, not merely the material property but the talents of body, intellect, and mind are also the wealth of society. According to Vinoba, no individual can be described as 'have-not'. By offering whatever one possesses to society, with the spirit of service, individual, along with the society, attains his good. Hence, it is not merely that "in the good of the whole society, the good of the individual is contained", but the converse is also true. This is the singnificance of the differnt 'sacrifices' (*Yajñas*) springing from the *Bhoodan Yajna*, viz. the sacrifice of wealth, labour, intellect and even of life (*Jivandan*). But who knows perhaps even a particular society itself may develop the sense of its private property and sow the seed of colonialism and imperialism. The slogan of the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement—all land and wealth belong to God—ultimately comes to mean that the very sense of ownership, whether in individual or society, is the evil at the root of inequality and misery.

As none is to be the owner, all should be labourers, striving to contribute to each other's well-being by doing their utmost. Sarvodaya Society is a community of producers.[93] Society and individual enrich each other, since production is the source of the survival of society, and individual develops physically, intellectually and culturally to form an integrated personality, by the full exercise of his original capacities and creative faculties. Work of a pleasant and creative type is a necessity for this. Drudgery in work ought to be eliminated as far as possible, but the works necessary for individual and corporate life—one and all—whether intellectual or physical, pleasant or wearisome, should be considered as of equal dignity and value, both morally and financially.[94]

The Sarvodaya thinkers are aware, that to create distinction between intellectual and manual work, and to consider one superior to the other, is again to keep the door open for exploitation and sense of ownership. According to Vinoba, those who justify economic inequality on the basis of such distinctions, reveal a serious lack of common-sense. Two qualitatively different things, e.g., money and work, do not, in fact, tolerate comparison. He states : "The idea of providing more or less just chance, according to more or less ability or capacity, is wrong. Sustenance is a physical thing. Service is moral....Can the ten minutes help of one who saves a man from drowning, be assessed in terms of true wages ?"[95] Of course, there will not be mathematical exactness in the equality of wages. Needs of individuals differ, so will differ their income.[96] Of course, this difference in income will only be just like the differences in the five fingers of a hand, which is natural and even essential. In a just society, the difference in wages will not let harbour jealosy or allow injustice.

The call to share land and wealth equitably, signifies socialistic decentralization, striking at the root of centralized Capitalism and Statism. According to Bharatan Kumarappa, if in the name of decentralization, the production-centred and machine-worshipping

industrialization come to stay in the form of fragmentalized centralization as in Japan, all the evils of centralization remain intact.[97] Self-sufficiency of optimum units, as far as possible, is the prime necessity in a truly decentralized economy.[98] " A Sarvodaya plan should aim at maximizing self-sufficiency in the elementary needs of man in every village and region, to the extent that considerations of geography and the limitations imposed by the availability of natural resources permit. "[99] For the needs, except food clothing and other elementary ones, one region may depend on other such regions. But the communities forming larger areas will also be self-sufficient in themselves. The Sarvodaya thinkers cannot altogether do away with all key-industries. They are considered as a necessary evil. Their control will go to society. Gandhi had said, "......I am socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalised or state-controlled."[100] " The general trend of world economic thought is towards decentralization and[101] " cottage communism. " G.D.H. Cole approves of Gandhian way of dealing with ecomomic problems. " It was good economics as well as good sociology " he said.[102]

Self-sufficiency in food, clothing etc., make agriculture the centre of ecomomic life in society. Contact with nature, particularly with soil, has been proved essential for man's balanced and integrated personality. Hence, Vinoba's suggestion that even the man engaged in most essential and important intellectual work should devote some amount of time everyday to the work on field.[103]

Besides, the communitarian society is not interested only in the present generation, but recognises the responsibility of the well-being of future ones. As such, it concerns itself with the " Economy of Permanence " as J. C. Kumarappa, the Gandhian economist, called it. Its intention is to utilise only those natural resources that can be returned back to nature and thus man can keep the cycle of natural creative process moving. That is why " A civiliza-

tion built on renewable resources, such as the products of forestry and agriculture, is by this fact alone superior to one built on non-renewable resources, such as oil coal metal etc. ."[104] Again the civilization based on non-violence and non-exploitation aiming at spiritual upliftment as well as material well being, should reveal reverence for the whole of nature. Thus it should avoid wasteful use of natural resources for the sake of luxury. This same consideration reserves a very important place for animals in Sarvodaya agriculture.

VII. Classless, Sectless and Casteless Social Order

The egalitarian urge of the Sarvodaya thinkers further leads them to the classless stage of society. Political liberty and economic equality are necessarily rendered vain and insignificant, if, socially men remain divided into upper middle or lower classes into workers and owners, into classes arising from difference in religions language and caste. The message of the one-ness of all humanity requires the obliteration of all these distinctions. According to Vinoba, " there are no natural classes in human society ."[105]

At present the unifying spiritual strength of religions of humanity vanishes into insignificance before the noisy combats of different sects and religions hurrying to majoritarize themselves through proselytization. Gandhi put forth the ideal of *Sarva dharma samabhava*—equal reverence for all religions. He recognised that all " faith are true and divinely inspired," and that " all have suffered through the necessarily imperfect handling of imperfect men. He, therefore, permitted no proselytisation.[106] Vinoba points out, that the spirit of equal reverence for all faiths will lead ultimately to one religion of all humanity. In this religion, everything good and great in all religions will find place. Sarvodays thinkers hope that such a true religion would dispel religious superstition and fanaticism that water the communalism even in modern ages.[107]

Ideal society relinquishes caste distinctions,[108] since they play reactionary and anti-egalitarian role in the present Indian society. Untouchability is the poison of Hindu society.[109] But, we have seen that the original ideas of the *Varnadhārma* is highly appreciated by Gandhi, because of its assurance of *mokśa* or liberation to one and all doing any kind of work, as duty done disinterestedly. This means that it emphasises the fundamental equality of humanity. It also shows the way of utilizing inborn qualities for the good both of the individual and society.[110] Vinoba characteristically attracts our attention towards the qualities of the four *Varnas* and *aśramas*—peace characterises *Brahmana* and *Sanyasa* ; self-control reveals *ksatra*-spirit and *vanaprastha* stage ; charity speaks about *Vasya* and *Grihastha* ; and lastly faith constitutes the essence of *Sudra* and *brahmacharya.* All these virtues are to be cultivated by the man in Sarvodaya. The flower of *Varna*-institution, Vinoba says, is in a decaying state but its honey should be preserved.[111]

One may legitimately ask whether the revival of the '*Varnasrama dharma*' is a necessary step towards the realization of the ideal society. Something like *Āśrama vyavasthā* (division of individual's life into four stages) should be considered to be natural and valuable. But the institution of Varṇa is not only out of date, its value seems too doubtful. The validity of what Gandhi calls '*law of Varṇa*' has not been proved through scientific investigations. If education can cultivate desired faculties in individuals, why should the builders of new society depend on something that is of doubtful value ? If Sarvodays ideology aims at building a culturally homogenous society, no exclusive classification in human world should be allowed to take roots. Just as *Varnadharma* of ancient India degenerated into castes, the revived *varnas* will also contain the seeds of future caste system. In an egalitarian society, classification on the basis of hereditary occupations should find no place.

To look after the convenience of others and work for the comfort of them, are the twin guiding considerations in the Sarvodaya communitarian life. The seed of these values is sown in the family. That is why like Plato the Sarvodaya thinkers do not reject the kernal of this institution along with its husk. Individual learns in, and through, family-life to forget his petty self and pour out all strength and talents for the good of its members. Intimacy and love in family make for spontaneous development of individual to the utmost extent and the motto of "each for all, and all for each" is exemplified through it. The Sarvodaya thinkers consider that what is essential is not the abolition of family but the obliteration of its un-social tendencies and the blurring of its restricted boundaries.[112] Vinoba says, that those who leap out of themselves and hug the whole world as their kith and kin are rare, but it need not be impossible even for a common man to think of the people in his community as members of his family.[113]

To erect such a lofty social order is a delicate and skilful task demanding service and culture of the highest order. Gandhi asks—who else but woman—*ahimsā incarnate*[114]—can be trusted most in this matter ? But can woman be fit to guide and remould society, unless she disentangles herself from the slavish obedience to the dictates of domineering man on the one hand and the allures of the competitive social life nullifying her capactiy to love and endure and to create, on the other ? According to Gandhi, sometimes the modern woman "in trying to ride the horse that man rides, she brings herself and him down."[115] Nature has endowed woman with capacities that are somewhat different from those of man, and the more she develops herself in her characteristic qualities the better for her and the society. This does not mean that the one is superior to the other—not in the least ! Both man and woman are complementary to each other.[116] Moreover, in essential human qualities of heart and head, both are equal.[117] Hence the Sarvodaya thinker's call to eradicate all artificially created

distinctions between the two sexes. The social customs and laws defended the double standard of morality proving the maxim 'might is right'. Man is unquestionably superior in physical strength, but to make physical power the foundation of real ability, is to deny the fundamental equality of both the sexes, on which the universal franchise and all other democratic values depend. It is, therefore, imperative, according to Sarvodaya ideology, that woman as a representative of down-trodden and physically weak humanity should rise to revolutionise the present social order. So long as she allows herself to remain an object of temptation and exploitation, no real egalitarian society can be established.[118] The political and economic order in Sarvodaya society seeks to annihilate all possibilities of treating any human being as a means, so also in social life it strives to iron out the tendency to use the other sex as a means for the gratification of one'a desires.[119] To create a new healthy atmosphere in society woman's motherhood can come to our rescue.[120] The enlargement of her capacity to love as a mother and sister, will not only cut off the sting of insecurity in the co-existence of man and woman in society, but it will enhance her dignity and increase her ability to sacrifice for humanity. This potentiality to suffer infinitely for the good of others, makes woman the 'heroine' of revolution.[121]

If such a stateless, sectless, class-and-casteless communitarian social order is to be realised, the Sarvodaya thinkers recognise education working on thoroughly new lines should be started. We have seen that Gandhi had suggested his Basic education scheme. The later Sarvodaya thinkers too have certain suggestions for the working of new education. But what will be the content of such education? First of all, it will be the education for democracy. It should open the doors to self-knowledge that brings about universality of outlook and creates the spring of contentment.[122] It will remove the barriers in the way of free and original thinking. In fact, for the dawn of new social order, thought alone is the subtle

but sure vehicle of revolution. Naturally, freedom of thought and discussion become the vital breach of Sarvodaya Society. Hence the coolness of head and the warmth of love in heart, beget consideration and strength of character that abhors all external compulsion. To Vinoba, a society wherein teachers and police both find honourable place suffers from the lack of true education.[123] Where teachers are successful, police should have no occasion to function, according to Sarvodaya.

VIII. The Problem of Defence

This leads to the problem of defence which has assumed colossal improtance in this nuclear age, suffering from the fear-complex. The practicality and durability of Sarvodaya Society depends on its strength, that should successfully meet the challenge of the fully armed and aggressive nations on the one hand, and violent outbreaks of the selfish and sectarian tendencies in the society, on the other. The Sarvodaya thinkers maintain that it should be evident that so far as the ideal society is concerned there would be no serious internal threat[124] to peace and order, since each and every individual therein leads the most satisfying life both to him and to society. This does not mean that there would be a sort of spiritual regimentation eschewing all differences in thought and action. On the other hand, there would be the most full and free expression of the variety of views and tendencies without any clash or conflict of ultimate wellbeings of all. If any difference of opinion leads to some serious disagreement, the way of Satyagraha is left open to the individuals.[125] Now, as regards the external aggression, in spite of the unique moral position of the Sarvodaya Samaj if any nation dares to invade its territory, Sarvodaya thinkers hope that cool headed discussion of the issue and Sympathetic consideration of the invader's demands, would be first taken resort to, in order to avoid actual conflict and bloodshed.[126] Realistically they anticipate that notwithstanding such rational and praiseworthy approach, the invaders might decide to attack forcefully, then the

non-violent society would face it bravely through non-cooperation and the willing sacrifice of its citizens standing like a wall before the swelling army.[127] The army can crush the bodies, but cannot defeat the immortal soul—the source of all goodness.

But what would be the defence-force of a country, that strives to establish peace in the world, but is itself helpless before armed aggression, since no peaceful and complete revolutionary transformation of its people has been wrought? With astonishing moral courage Sarvodaya thinkers ask the present Indian Government to dissolve the army and spread the message of peace by acting on the principle of "start from yourself". Some nation has to break the vicious circle in which every nation has been caught. They seem to "pray for peace and prepare for the eventuality of war."[128]

Viewing the world situation to-day when the mightiest and invincible dictators and imperialists care to morally justify[129] their amassing of nuclear weapons, to Sarvodaya thinkers it seems improbable that any of them would thoughtlessly pull the chain of world-war for the cessasion of human life. Hence, even in the transitional period, the danger of external invasion is far less[130] than the internal threat to peace and unity. Soon after independence, Gandhi had called the Indian nation to raise a peace-brigade to deal with the violent situations in the riot ridden areas on the border of India and Pakistan. He himself worked day and night to cool the fire of communalism through an approach to heart. The new Sarvodaya Movement of *Bhoodān-Grāmdān* has appealed to form a peace-brigade of Gandhi's concept[131] to prevent, if possible, or at least to settle, the violent disputes in society. The peace-volunteer or *Śānti Sainika* is a man of high moral character and devoted service helping, guiding and educating people through the constructive activities in order to hasten the peaceful revolution. According to Vinoba, he is ready to give up even his life to maintain peace and order.[132] They are the true servants of society—

Loka-sevaks[133]—and the grass-root cultivators of real democracy envigorated by the lofty ideals of truth and non-violence.

It is true that the Sarvodaya thinkers are not mere day-dreamers or visionaries of high sounding utopia. Gandhi sincerely tried to implement into practice what he preached. He took the whole Indian nation with him on the march towards political independence. But the seeds of his philosophy are not seen to be fructified according to his own estimate. Vinoba and some others have been trying to rebuild the nation on Gandhian lines. If the vision of new social order is actualised, at least partially, it will serve as a demonstrative model lesson to the whole human world. Truth, Love and Compassion are, according to Vinoba, the triad that will save the world in this nuclear age of struggle and sorrow. As a firm believer in the integral and dynamic capacity of human understanding, he goes on preaching, to awaken the sleeping humanity. If the millions listen to his call, according to his expectations, they can change the old social order. The question of practicability of such a philosophy does arise. A philosophy is proved practical, if and when it is carried out into action. We shall have to see whether man is capable of the Sarvodaya integral revolution. Optimists, the world over, believe in human potentialities.

IX. Some Parallel Pictures

According to Sarvodaya thinkers, the appeal of Sarvodaya thought is a universal one and does receive welcome in other lands suffering from similar or even serious maladies of maladjustments.[134] Complete transformation of human society is a demand echoed by various socio-ethical thinkers all over the world. The remedies suggested by them stand on the par with the Sarvodaya ideals.

Aldous Huxley detects the threat to human liberty and to existence in the present world situation, since "Never have so many been so much at the mercy of so few,"[135] and these few holding the

weapons of wholesale destruction. The only way, therefore, is to apply the principle of "self-government" in every department of life "to the extreme practicable limit."[136] For this, decentralization and self-government are the methods.[137] Though peace is the hunger of common man today, he is not prepared to accept the peaceful way of life.[138] Practical demonstrations in the non-violent way of living, through small associations, are necessary to prepare the whole of society.[139] Non-violent methods like Satyagraha are the strength of those who exert to save human values in spite of the totalitarian devices in modern states that cripple them. Education for liberty and non-attachment should create the foundation of the future society.[140]

To Pitirim Sorokin the Western society seems to be sick[141] in body and mind, and awaiting salvation at the hands of the few leaders of different states, who are the "guardians of death and destruction." "The excessive relativism of the values of sensate order, particularly its moral atomism and cynicism, and its intensified struggle for wealth, power and sensual pleasure has, degenerated contractualism (of the 19th century) into a lawless, normless and a moral goal-less compulsion."[142] But the rays of hope are still to be seen. "Without any physical violence, and mainly through scientific and moral persuasion," saintly personalities can strive to limit the power of the governments and industrialists. Only the emergence of the "integral familistic, social, cultural and personalistic order, can lead mankind to the magnificence of creative history". It will work through the disinterested efforts of the sages, artists and scientists working with the up-to-date scientific knowledge along with the accumulated wisdom of humanity. They are animated by the spirit of universal friendship, sympathy and unselfish love, with ensuing mutual aid of every one to everybody.[143] He advises the formation of an integrated government of these experts in science, wisdom, love and art, as the remedy of the world-crisis.

Erich Fromm starts by showing that a whole culture and civilization can be insane. The danger of robotism for the individuals who have lost their originality and dignity as a person and who cling to their onion-like self, hangs over the human world. Man stands at the cross-roads and a wrong step could be a last step. The beacon light for the self-alienated individual seem to be humanistic communitarianism,[144] centering round the idea of sharing experience and not of work and property. The small face-to-face groups that form ideal communities should benefit themselves from the mixed order of decentralized and centralized economy. The ultimate spring of hope is the "faith in man's reason, good-will and sanity."[145]

These and some other forces of peace and good-will are working along with Sarvodaya thinkers for the bright future of humanity. We shall study the metaphysical implications of such an attempt in the next chapter.

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Chapter Seven

THE METAPHYSICS OF SARVODAYA

I. The Practical Idealism of Sarvodaya

The structure of the Sarvodaya society that we studied in the last chapter implies a metaphysical world-view. The Sarvodaya thinkers are not merely conscious of the metaphysical implications, but they emphasise the significance and role of metaphysical considerations. Their thoughts and movements reveal idealistic tendencies. In fact, they represent Indian Idealistic tradition of the Vedanta. Sarvodaya Idealism brings out that the Sarvodaya thinkers stand for the spiritual Reality unifying the actuality of the cosmos and giving meaning to it—(*Parama Samya*).[1] Besides being idealists, the Sarvodaya thinkers are at the same time revolutionaries, who realise the need to transform the human world according to their vision. That is why they call themselves 'practical idealists'. The word 'practical' has a special meaning in this context. According to Sarvodaya, the spiritual Reality is to be realised by individuals not in seclusion but in and through social living. A liberated individual is a changed person in himself and in his relationship with each and every aspect of life. An ideal human society consists of such individuals. This can be realised, according to Sarvodaya, by changing both psychological and social contexts. The discipline of simplicity, austerity and restraint helps bringing inner change. And an organised non-violent mass-movement, taking some living problem of a society tries to revolutionise social living. The Gandhian Satyagraha for political independence and Vinoba's Land and Village-Gift movement are instances to the point. Of course, these two lines of work (Psychological and Social) are only two sides of the coin of integral revolution. But

this special feature characterises Sarvodaya idealism and makes it 'practical'.

The Sarvodaya thinkers do not propose to give a full-fledged and logically systematic statement of their metaphysical stand. Like the Buddha they seem to concentrate on the remedy of actual maladies of people. That is why their teaching of spirituality, like that of the Buddha again, gets the colour of rationalism and humanism. They too make an appeal to awaken *Prajna* (purified reason) and *Karuna* (Compassion). But they are not as silent on the ultimate issues of life as was the Buddha. There is also a sort of mystical tinge to what they propagate and practise.[2] They rely on actual experience as the adequate evidence supporting their contention. When asked to define truth, Gandhi pointed out that ultimately his faith rests on the inner voice.[2] And when Vinoba refers to his faith in the *Vedas* he makes it clear that to him Vedas mean words of experience. Both of them, therefore, often speak about the ultimate inadequacy of reason as the final guide in the search of Reality. They find it enough to convey their experience and its meaning, mainly through the traditionally accepted terms in the *Vedas, Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā.* Many times they fill the old terms with new meanings of their own in the fashion of the Gītā.[3] And since their sole concern is with spiritual experience, and not with any particular prophet, religion or sect, they are wont to give allusions from the scriptures and the lives of great seers of other religions besides Hinduism.

Again, they have not to preach merely theoretically the ultimate one-ness of life but they see the practical necessity of "uniting hearts" of all humanity[4] in order to actualise in society what has been realised by some individuals intuitively. This consideration has influenced the method of presentation of what they maintain. In order to express and establish in thought-world the character of spiritual Reality and the way to its realization, is it necessary to raise controversies and oppose what others maintain and so to join hands

with the dividing factors in human society? The modern scientific age revealing the dangers of the lack of unity and harmony, exhorts the Sarvodaya thinkers to adopt a broad, generous and synthetic method.[5] Their tolerance is born out of humility, honesty and open-mindedness. They emphasise the common factors of the teachings of great religions and isms of the world and try to point out the line of their unification—since they hold that Truth is one, wise speak about it variously from different points of view (*ekam sat vipra bahudha vadanti*). Differences in opinion and statement need not lead to hostility and discord. The Bible too maintains, "In my father's house, there are many mansions". The Sarvodaya thinkers honestly believe that great saints, prophets and thinkers come to fulfil and not to destory,[6] they synthesise everything valuable of the past ages and present in a new light the result thereof. Vinoba asks, "Does the light make any special efforts to dispel darkness?" Truth by its very presence reveals the insignificance of falsehood. It is through the synthetic method that non-violence or love approaches life. This applies even to the attitude of Sarvodaya thinkers towards materialism and atheism.

II. All-pervading Spiritual Reality

It is the Upanisads and the Gita that have left deep impressions on the teachings of the Sarvodaya thinkers. They sing with all faith the all-pervasiveness of the Ultimate Spiritual Reality—the governing Lord of the universe (*Isavasyam idam sarvam—Isopanisad*)[7]. The whole universe is literally the residence of the Almighty.[8] Life is completely and wholly God.[9] "God alone is, and nothing else exists."[10] There is no trace of unreality to be found mixed with this Ultimate Reality. "There is nothing in the whole of creation, except God."[11]

Then is this cosmos, as it appears to the unthinking common man, to be taken as itself the Ultimate Reality? And even to a thinking mind, there seem to exist so many contradictions in the

world of experience, and it strives to travel beyond these logical, psychological and physical contradictions. Do the Sarvodaya thinkers propose to keep these contradictions in tact in the final consideration of this cosmos? Then their God—the Ultimate Reality—is nothing but a bundle of our sense-experiences—an un-systematic jungle of painful and pleasureable, hard and soft, ugly and beautiful things, existing unconnectedly in the universe.

This cannot be so. Behind the contradictions of this world there is the essence of life. "He is the purest essence" of the things of the world.[12] Those who take the cosmos as it appears to our senses, lose the core of spiritual Reality. The physicists and other scientists who are devoted students of the world of senses, do not seem to be mindful of the ultimate meaning[13] of what they examine and what they try to reduce to an order. They make a sum total of the knowledge of the things of this world and innocently consider it to be the knowledge of the Ultimate Reality.[14] The main question is this—can we have the knowledge of all the parts of the universe? And if we somehow manage to possess it, how will it be possible for us to make this grand sum? But let us imagine to have done this by compiling the results of different sciences, and still the problem continues to haunt our brains. How are we to attain the understanding of the unfractionalized (*akhanda*) garment (*vastra*) of this cosmos through a second-hand knowledge of a coarse cloth pieced together and made somehow into one?[15]

The Upanisadic seers were good guides in this matter. For them the Ultimate Reality is represented through the word OM. Three and half *matras* are to be counted for this word, though it is a combined outcome of three Sanskrit originals—'*A*', '*U*' and '*Ma*'. If one meditates upon '*A*'—one would be all-powerful on this earth, if on '*U*' one would rule over the vast space above this earth, if on '*Ma*' one would be the master of Heaven and lastly if one meditates on all these three, one would conquer the universe.[16] But what if one loses one's soul after conquering the universe?

Will this conquest lead us to the One governing this universe? This fundamental and most valuable consideration is lost sight of by the materialists. To attain to the final meaning of our experience and knowledge of this cosmos, one has to meditate on the Om along with the training in the art of acquiring knowledge of the universe.[17] The remaining half matra thus acquires for us the understanding of the Ultimate Reality according to Vinoba. When this is not done, the senses overpower us, and the whole picture of the social and individual life gets coloured with the unwholesome and many times tyrannical institutions and ideas.[18] Furthermore, where there is a negation of spiritual values there is a cancellation of individual liberty.[19] That is why Marx's Dialectical Materialism is considered by Vinoba to be a philosophy of attachment.[20] Here the metaphysics of Materialism is constructed according to the ways and waves of behaviour in society. Hence, the spiritual values which ought to occupy the centre of human relations become derivative and the after-effects of the economic nature of man.[21]

Gandhi attacked atheism—the root of materialism and one more psychological laziness, effecting a sort of blindness to the spiritual meaning of existence. Gandhi's use of the word 'atheist' bears a some-what different meaning. For him, as also for other Sarvodaya thinkers,[22] mere disbelief in the personal God or even in the indefinable Spiritual Absolute does not constitute Atheism. Those who have faith in humanity, morality or in an understanding of the spiritual values of life are theists (*Astika*). Buddhism and Jainism have been called atheist-philosophies (*Nastika Darsanas*) in orthodox Indian philosophy. But because of the above consideration the Sarvodaya thinkers regard these faiths as astika philosophies. That is why, while answering a correspondent's 'clever letter' showing Buddhism and Jainism as atheist's creed and Mr. Bradlaugh as a staunch atheist, Gandhi defined God in a characteristic and curious way " The sum total of Karma is God. That which impels man to

do the right, is God. The sum total of all that lives, is God. That which makes man the mere plaything of fate is God. That which sustained Bradlaugh throughout all his trials was God. He is the Denial of the atheist.[23] For the atheists of the type of Bradlaugh he uses the word ' Truth ' instead of ' God ', and thus disarms them.[24] And it is because atheism in the sense of the denial of God is different from the lack of belief in the goodness of humanity[25] that even Marx has been called by the Sarvodaya thinkers : the tenth incarnation of the Lord—the prophet of the poor and the downtrodden humanity.[26] It is a different matter, though, that he displayed lack of understanding of the relation between end and means.

But still there remains a class of atheists who disbelieve in God and goodness both. Gandhi does not believe that conviction about the existence of God can be created by argumentation. Of course, he argues on the lines of Descartes. " If we exist, if our parents and their parents have existed, then it is proper to believe in the parent of the whole creation ."[27] Still he admits that " exterior proof is not of much avail, if any at all."[28] In fact, " belief in God has to be based on faith which transcends reason ."[29] Those who are bent upon the evidence of the senses must without doubt fail to perceive Him. Since " He is beyond them "[30] " you cannot convince those about the existence of living God who do not want the conviction ".[31]

Then is there no way of convincing the atheist of the goodness of human heart, through which God spreads His illumination ? Should the theists (*Astika*) consider themselves defeated ? They need not think so. Why ? Gandhi emphatically asserts : " An atheist might floor me in a debate. But my faith runs so very much faster than my reason that I can challenge the whole world and say—God is, was and ever shall be ."[32] But what is the key to convert the atheist ? It is the devotee's " own purity and good conduct ."[33] " If he is true to God, his neighbours will instinctively not be atheists ". And if even then the atheists continue to exist

there need be no doubt "that atheists exist by the sufference of God."[34] Thus where materialism, atheism or even agnosticism are to be successfully encountered, one has to do it by living the life of a God-intoxicated devotee, which alone creates and strengthens faith.

III. Matter and Spirit

There is an age-old controversy about the priority of matter or spirit. Materialists either reject consciousness or any spiritual or non-material reality altogether (like the Behaviourist Watson) or consider it to be the after-effect or epiphenomenon[35] (like Marx). It is an altogether different matter when we approach the problem scientifically. Apart from the opinions of the scientist-philosophers like Jeans and Eddington in favour of consciousness,[36] the two theories of modern science—the Quantum theory and the Relativity[37]—have at least shaken the belief in the mechanical universe and in matter—as something having fixed weight and size.[38] It is better to leave the problem to the scientists themselves. Is it that we should depend on such exterior proof for the existence of consciousness or spiritual content of Reality? Temporal priority does not affect the validity or otherwise of any of the factors. Our spiritual life should start even with our actual experience of the unity of all life which is the foundation of real faith in God. Neither logic nor a laboratory needs to help this faith, they are helpless before a psychological fact—"You feel sorry at the sight of other's misery. You experience joy when others become happy."[39] And what is more, even in a conflict either between thoughts or between physical bodies of the persons, there is a fundamental sameness or unity[40] (*samānata*). In controversies when there is agreement on the issue concerned and the results reached there is intellectual satisfaction.[41] All these instances show the underlying sameness which is called Brahman or Atma.[42]

The Existentialists declare that there is only Life. But they too admit that man seeks the meaning of existence. And spiri-

tuality can be taken to mean the search of this content of life (*Jivan ka Upādān*). Is not human life a complex of relationships between men and men and men and things? A little thought reveals the fact that it is love that sustains these relationships. And what is it that binds the whole creation together and makes it march unitedly? Love is the content of existence. "Where there is love there is progress of life, its absence hinders life's smooth process and it declines.[43] This meaning or content of life may be called love or Brahman or Atma. Such an approach may disarm the intellectuals of the scientific age that prompts one to take nothing for granted.

In whatever way the Sarvodaya thinkers may approach the problem of life, they come to one Reality without a second (*Advaita*).[44] Then what is the meaning of Gandhi's adherence to the theory of *Anekantavada*? He himself makes it clear that his *anekantavada* is specially his own and that it has nothing to do with the philosophical Anekantavada—or the philosophy of Pluralistic Realism. Reality is one, the world is neither real nor unreal, but men approach life through different channels. One who strives to understand people has to identify himself with them. This is the non-violent way of understanding them. Thus Gandhi's non-violence and search of Truth have compelled him to be an anekantavadi—which to him means—one who understands various and partial approaches to Reality.[45]

Vinoba categorically maintains the supreme unity of Ultimate Reality (*Parama Samya*).[46] In spite of the manifoldness of existence there subsists the ultimate and final unity.[47] It is spiritual. This is the basis of the strivings to establish unity and equality in social, economic and psychological fields. It is *Brahman*.[48] It already exists; what remains for us mortals is to discover it. The word Sāmya which Vinoba uses—meaning Brahman—itself shows the way also to reach that ultimate stage—the way passes through the strenuous efforts to establish equality and justice in social and

economic fields and reach a plane of mutual understanding in psychological level in society.[49] The need of the times demands a restatement in a new form of the eternal truths. Vinoba says that he has done only this.[50]

IV. Reality and God

Now, through what perspective do the Sarvodaya thinkers look at this Ultimate Reality? Has it any characteristics? What distinguishes God from this final Unity? What are individual and the world of senses? In what way are they all related to one another? All these questions are dealt with mostly in the Advaita Vedantic fashion though in Sarvodaya philosophy logical and systematic approach is lacking.

Vinoba makes a clear-cut statement distinguishing God (*Iśvara*) from *Brahman*—the Ultimate Reality. The surrounding nature stands out there, only because of her underlying spiritual essence. This is *Iśvara*.[51] He is the inner being controlling every smallest movement and completely knowing even insignificant aspects of Nature.[52] *Brahman* stands above this Isvara and individual selves as a unifying Ultimate Reality.[53]

But this demarcation between *Īśvara* and *Brahman* seems to be blurred in many a description and we find God taken to be the Ultimate Reality itself. And this seems natural. Those who consider every aspect of existence as representing Ultimate Reality need not be cautious in keeping Īśvara and Brahman in water-tight compartments though logically this is a weakness. The descriptions of God and His attributes are but for the satisfaction of human mind, in themselves they are of little significance. Because " He transcends description.[54] " God is invisible but is a power that is felt. We cannot describe Him because he is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses, "[55] Gandhi says. Only what is felt can be described; though language is but a poor medium to do so.

Gandhi admires Truth above all as expressing accurately his idea of God. In the beginning, Truth was one of many attributes of God. Later on he corrected himself by saying that truth itself was God for him.[56] "God is Truth" and "Truth is God" are not merely the converse of each other. The latter statement does not make Truth one among many attributes of God—but Truth becomes the sole content of what is called God.[57] Whether the atheist would feel disarmed by this identification of Truth with God or not, depends on the atheist's position and understanding of the word 'Truth'. As for Gandhi 'Truth' stands for *Sat*—the Reality behind the cosmos.[58] It is not the truth of a logical statement as against its falsity. It stands as the meaning of the sum total of all life. This truth "is that which alone is, which constitutes the stuff of which all things are made, which subsists by virtue of its own power which is not supported by anything else but supports everything that exists". Naturally, "Truth alone is eternal, everything else is momentary. It need not assume any shape or form."

"Realization of Truth is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in, and identification with, this limitless ocean of life."[59] Such humility is the outcome of perfect non-violence or love in its broadest and deepest sense. But the end and means are convertible terms to Gandhi. The extreme of means is itself the end. Then God as Truth is also God as Love. Then, naturally, compassion follows.[60] To Vinoba too, Truth, Love and Compassion constitute the nature of God.[61] He cares equally for all good and evil persons.[62] Besides, He is all consciousness or 'Pure intelligence' as well as pure bliss. He stands for stainless purity and true beauty. Though all powerful He is full with motherly tenderness. Such as He is, He peeps through everything from an atom to the cosmos.[63] He thus stands high as the creator of all.[64]

Gandhi is sure that "there is orderliness in the universe, there is an unalterable Law governing everything and every being that

exists and lives...... That Law, then, that governs all life, is God."[65] Hence it is a moral universe, that is why God is Morality.[66] Here the Law and the Law-giver and the executor are all one.[67] This Law is eternal. Therefore, He is the changeless string through the changing things.[68]

Can we conceive of Him as a Person—as the highest personality of all human personalities? Evidently not. He is not a person.[69] But because "He is all things to all men", "He is embodied to those who need His touch" and naturally "He is a Personal God to those who need His presence."[70] But to conceive Him to be actually as we think of Him according to our needs, is gross anthropomorphism. "Man can only conceive God within the limitations of his own mind."[71] And again One who manifests Oneself in all sorts of forms must remain formless. In the manner of Plato one can assert that "He is an Idea". Or like Spinoza one may take Him to be an Exiom.[72] The logic of a faithful devotee can make and unmake innumerable hypotheses about Him.[73] But He is beyond all conceptions.[74]

Hence, the justification of the contradictory attributes also. He is the best known democrat and at the same time a Tyrant.[75] "He is one and yet many, He is smaller than an atom and bigger than the Himalayas. He is contained even in a drop of the ocean, and yet not even the seven seas can compass Him.[76] He is equally revealed through good and evil.[77] Though He is conceived as the Creator—He remains "undefiled consciousness"[78] and hence, He is not the Creator. He does everything and even the movement of a grass leaf is due to his reign—and still He does nothing.[79] He is the nearest one and yet far away.[80]. Standing fixedly He surpasses all others who run with swiftest speed.[81] He moves and at the same time is motionless.[82] Everything perishes yet He is eternal and imperishable.[83] He is the mystery of all mysteries.[84] And, that is why even when the Gita calls Him *OM Tat Sat*—meaning 'yes He is,' He is beyond all this and He is auspicious real. He

can be properly expressed negatively in Yājñavalkya's terms "Not this, Not this" (*Neti Neti*).[85]

And since God is not personal the concept of Avatara or the Lord's descent on earth, in human form is treated by the Sarvodaya thinkers in a distinct way. Perfection can never take the form of a human being, but man can rise to such a spiritual height as to demonstrate the ideal spiritual personality of human imagination. Such a man works as a saviour and deliverer.[86] But, in fact, the whole of creation is itself the incarnation of Reality. Every aspect of life is a *Vibhuti* and therefore claims reverence.[87]

V. The Problem of One and Many

We now come to an important consideration in philosophy. What is the relation between the world of Nature and this Ultimate Absolute Reality ? Before we consider it, let us see what thoughts on cosmology are expressed by the Sarvodaya thinkers. Vinoba makes it clear that they are somewhat indifferent to the cosmological problem.[88] As said above, they maintain that it is better to leave the problem to the modern scientists. But when they look at the problem from moral and an aspirant's point of view they value the *Sankhya* contention that the whole physical world is built out of the bricks and mortar of the three *Gunas*. The panoramic cosmic play is the evolution of the threefold qualitative Nature (*trigunatmaka Prakriti*). Not only the inanimate but the animate things also are made up of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*[89]—everything is a combined whole of light, motion and position (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas). The Sankhyas enumerate twenty-three evolutes of the unmanifested *Prakriti*. The Gita sums up these under these heads—" Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Ether (which pre-suppose the five subtle elements), Mind, Individuation and Intellect (which are intended to include all the ten senses of perception and organs of action), which thus make up twenty-three, and the twenty-fourth unmanifested *prakriti* being omitted as being evidenced in its manifest form ".[90] About the mak-up of the nature, society and

individual body, new and scientific approaches are made and need to be studied. That is why Vinoba asks the students of life to study Darwin's Evolutionary theory, Marx's Dialectical Materialism, Einstein's Relativity and Aurobindo's Theory of Cosmos. The results of modern science dealing with the nature of matter and energy, space and time and the structure of the universe as a whole, come forward to join hands with the spiritualistic interpretation of the cosmos. The so-called gross matter has been pushed in the realm of energy.[91] Is it not because of this that Vinoba prefers to call this cosmos the spontaneous expression of Brahman—the Ultimate Reality? He refers to his doctrine of *Jagat Sphurti* as appropriate in this scientific age. The modern science seems to make this cosmos 'divine' to use Aurobindo's terminology.

Whatever the nature of this cosmos, what is its relation to the Ultimate Reality? The Supreme Absolute, one without a second—can It be in any way related to anything at all? Such a relation would prove another entity existing side by side with the Absolute. This cannot be. The "manyness of reality" refers not to the ultimate state of affairs. The only answer is—all this cosmos is *Maya*[92]—a sort of illusion. The idea of relationship is also an illusion. It is a mere play (*Līla*). The consideration of the relation between the one and the many is the crux of the problem in Idealism. From Plato upto the modern Idealist F. H. Bradley in western philosophy, the manyness has been shown to be an "appearance" of the Absolute subsisting behind the drama of the cosmos. To Śankara the cosmos is an illusion (*Mithya*) just as a snake as a super-imposition on a rope is an illusion. In fact, the nature of the cosmos defies the categories of real or unreal patterned by logic.[93] The cosmos is neither real nor unreal (*sadasadbhyam anirvacaniyam*) which is, therefore, to be termed *Maya*. It is a new category altogether. This is how human intellect skilfully manages to escape the clutches of logic. Neither science, nor spirituality has succeeded in finding the 'wherefrom' and the 'how' of the cos-

mic life.[94] While spirituality toils fruitlessly with the attempt to solve the problem, science admits : " yet the fundamental mystery remains. The whole march of science towards the unification of concepts—the reduction of all matter to elements and then to a few types of particles, the reduction of ' forces ' to the single concept ' energy ' and then the reduction of matter and energy to a single basic quantity—leads still to the unknown."[95] This need not be considered merely as the limit of human reason, but in its very nature, life is like that.[96]

The Upanisads are frank, so too are the Sarvodaya thinkers. The free admittance of what seems contradictory to logic may be taken to be a fine piece of dialectic (*vitarka*).[97] It is called vitarka as different from Sankar's *Vivarta*. From this dialectical point of view the problem of one and many is no problem at all, since logic is not considered as worthy to enter the ultimate Abode where experience alone finds place. The Upanisads declare : all this is Brahman (*sarvam khalu idam Brahma*). Vinoba affirms—Brahman is the Reality and the cosmos is the spontaneous expression of that Reality (*Brahma Satyam Jagat Sphurtih*).[98] Vinoba admires Sanker's treatment of the problem but prefers his special expression of calling the cosmos spontaneous revelation of Reality instead of accepting the explanation of illusionism (*Mithyātvavada*).

With this philosophy of *Sphūrtivāda*, it seems that Aurobindo's philosophy of Divine Manifestation compares well. Aurobindo presents the problem in this way. " All philosophy is concerned with the relations between the things, the fundamental truth of existence and the forms in which existence presents itself to our experience."[99] Aurobindo answers—" Our view is that the antinomy created between them is an unreal one. Spirit being the fundamental truth of existence, life can be only its manifestation, spirit must be not only the origin of life but its basis, its pervading reality an d its highest and total result.[100] To him form and matter " are in their nature an act of divine consciousness, in their aim the

representation of a status of the spirit."[101] For him, as for Vinoba, "Life exists in Brahman in order to discover Brahman in itself".[102]

But unlike Aurobindo Vinoba points out in a synthetic spirit the fundamental soundness of Sankara's metaphysical stand. According to Aurobindo, Sankara stands for a philosophy in which liberation is nothing but "the escape of an illusory non-existent soul from an illusory non-existent bondage in an illusory non-existent world as the supreme good which that non-existent soul has to pursue".[103] But does Sankara mean by illusion non-existent? *Mithyatva* is different from *Asattva*. The world is neither real nor unreal for Sankara. And does not Aurobindo mean the same thing when he says "It is equally true that form and matter asserting themselves as a self-existent-reality are an illusion of Ignorance?"[104] Vinoba maintains that the difference between Sankar's so-called illusionism and the Divine Manifestation, and spontaneous Expression of Aurobindo and Vinoba respectively, is only the difference of presentation of one and the same truth. The superstructure of every illusion is founded on something real and positive. Only one has to dispel the mist of ignorance and penetrate through the appearance to reach the Reality of that appearance. Vinoba shows how, to Sankara himself, both these ways of expressing the truth about Reality were known. One way is to express it by saying that Reality is the rope and the world is a false superimposition on it, appearing as a serpent. The other way is to call the world a bangle made through and through of gold, which is Reality. According to Sankara the first expression satisfies an unripe aspirant for Reality, while the other contents the ripe and self-realised souls.[105] As soon as the rope is discovered serpent becomes illusory and even non-existent. But in a golden bangle both gold and the form of the bangle exist as one single reality.[106] (*Brahmaiva idam sarvam jagat*). And when the supreme experience of self-realization is attained, the threefold division in the knowledge by senses, viz. of the knower, the object of knowledge,

and the knowledge disappears, only 'sight' (*drgrūpa*) remains, where are then bondage, liberation, and otherness, and even the individual self?[107]

In a similar manner Jnanesvara—the Maharastra saint of the 13th century—refutes even Avidya or Maya in his '*Amritanubhava*'. *Jnanesvara* can be said to be the inspirer of Vinoba's Sphurtivada. To Jnanesvara, as to Vinoba, it is not merely that Brahman is the underlying reality of the things of this world, but true realization (*Samvitti Jnana*) reveals that every particle of the world of senses is constituted by the Ultimate reality (*Changadeva Pasasthi*. Verse 12). There is not a single entity apart from, or other than, this Atman.[108] That is why, to realise the spiritual reality, it is not necessary to throw away the shell in the form of this world since the world itself is Real.[109] If the created universe encases the Ultimate Reality, which can be said to be the Light, who gets spread as the world—the glare of that light?

While commenting on some of Jnanesvara's verses Vinoba reaches the same level. The Ultimate Reality stomachs both, the formless and nameless Absolute, and the God with names and forms (*Saguna and Nirguna*). Hence, on the cot of *Nirguna* there rests person on the bed of *Saguna*. Such is the nature of the Reality along with the cosmos.[110] It is but poor observation that reveals Reality denying the cosmos. There remains no problem when the Reality along with the cosmos is realised.[111]

What then would be the status of different individual selves? They cannot be ultimately separate realities. That is why, while Sankara feels the necessity of mentioning self (*Jiva*) in his famous verse[112] (*Jivo Brahmaiva naparah*) and equates it with the Ultimate Reality, Vinoba altogether omits even such a reference to self-hood, though to him they are included in the life striving to realize the Ultimate Reality (*Jivnam satya sodhanam*).[113] Here also he resembles Jnanesvara.[114] But again, while commenting on the Gita, he recognises self-hood, since it is a fact that until the ego merges into the

Universal self-hood (*Visvatmaka Deva*) the striving of the limited consciousness continues. To Vinoba, selves are but reflections of the Ultimate Reality.[115] This self-hood drops the curtain over such realization. Gandhi maintains the same position by saying that we individual selves are but drops of water in the Ocean of Reality and hints at their ultimate oneness by pointing out the duty of human beings to merge themselvess into that Reality.[116] For both of them, life is a striving conscious or unconscious, for the realization of this Reality.

VI. The Way to Salvation

If this ignorance of the oneness with the Brahman is to be expelled, one should know the nature of this ignorance and the way to cross it. As in the case of Maya or cosmic illusion, so in the case of Avidya or ignorance of individuals the Sarvodaya thinkers do not seem to consider it worthwhile to discuss the matter to its logical end. They simply acknowledge that the root of misery in life is the sense of separateness created by the ego, which is accentuated by the various temptations and allurements in life. All this keeps the ultimate realization under cover. The Upanisads call it *anrita* or *Hiranmaya Patra*.[117] The Gita calls it *yoga-maya*.[118] It takes the form of naked greed for money or even of duties seemingly contributing to ultimate betterment of the ego. The ardent seeker of Reality should beware of such deceptions.[119]

Individuals who become conscious of the need to strive hard for liberation may, adopt the path of knowledge or that of devotion according to their proclivities. The first branch of seekers can be said to be interested in Truth as beyond attributes (*Nirguna*), the other branch seeks satisfaction in God as love and endowed with attributes (*saguna*).[120] The Gita also keeps before the seeker some alternatives. The way to liberation may go through knowledge or meditation, through action or devotion. But they are

not exclusive of one another. In fact, according to Vinoba, there is unification of all these in a true devotee.[121]

While commenting on one of the verses in the Gita, Vinoba says[122]—Since the soul residing in human body is ultimately Brahman, It, in the form of Isvara, observes intently the progress of individual soul towards the ultimate goal. Progressively the Lord also participates by helping the individual to ascend higher and higher. When the soul strives on the first stage of gross plurality of existence, the Lord only observes him remaining behind the curtain of the physical world. Then comes the moral stage. Here the Lord consents and applauds. Then at the time of depression, He runs to his help and at last he becomes the enjoyer of the fruits of the devotee's actions. He and the devotee become one. The striving ends in the enlightening realization that what is revealed everywhere, is the Lord Himself.[123] The Ultimate Reality lost behind the manyness of this world is the One beyond forms and distinctions, that same flame of unity shines through this manyness iteslf. Now there is illusory snake, the cosmos becomes the bright bangle of pure gold.[124] The bodies of different individuals then become transformed into different lamps of the Soul-Flame.[125] This is liberation.

But there can be no guarantee that the striving of the individual self always ends in success within the life-span of the individual. The doctrine of re-birth is only rational explanation of the continuance of the striving. As a Sanatani Hindu, Gandhi believes in re-birth, while both Vinoba and Gandhi, as followers of the Gita-teaching, take rebirth for granted. And since individual is responsible for his actions as also he is jointly responsible for social justices and injustices, the Law of Karma operates as a necessary corollary. But the Sarvodaya thinkers are cautious to emphasise individual's freedom of action, in spite of their recongition of this Law.[126] And right from Gandhi to the present-day Sarvodaya thinkers, one and all, rule out all consideration of life after death.[127]

Gandhi says—as human beings we know only that part of life that begins with physical birth and ends with physical death; and we should concern ourselves with the life here on earth.[128] In fact, spirituality need not concern itself with the problems after death.[129] If the liberated persons do not concern themselves with the thought of morrow, why should a seeker of Truth dabble in the matter of far future ? The consideration may be vital for a systematic metaphysical completeness, but it is idle thinking, creating more confusion and conflict, to which the history of various religions and sects are witness. As sparks[130] of the eternal fire of the spiritual Reality or even as the reflexions of it we human beings have to feel the ultimate unity in our hearts. If there is life after death it will take care of itself, if we take full care with responsibility of the present life. Spiritually the Law of Karma means only this: that we are responsible for our smallest act, the result of which inevitably comes seeking us. It is only after liberation that actions become spontaneous and result in the well-being of society without a taint of evil. Then responsibility, in the moral sense, no more remains.[131]

VII. The State of Liberation

To Gandhi an ideal always remains an ideal.[132] The ultimate state of perfection, in which the individual soul becomes one with the ocean of Reality, is unattainable till the fall of body at death. " No one can attain perfection while he is in the body, for the simple reason that the ideal state is impossible so long as one has not completely overcome his ego, and ego cannot be wholly got rid of, so long as one is tied down by the shackles of the flesh.[133] Even to Vinoba perfection is as good as an unrealizable ideal.[134] Man always strives but never reaches the ultimate abode. An ideal is like the definition of point in geometry, never unattained, but the most valuable for the sake of reference.[135] Is it not inconsistent, it may be asked, to conceive of liberation as unattainable till the break-down of physical existence, when one maintains that the

whole of life is Brahman ? Is our body something to be omitted from the spiritual and spontaneous expression of the Ultimate Brahman ? Logically that cannot be. That is why both Vinoba and Gandhi believe in *Jivanmukti*—liberation while still living on earth. It is a different matter that in actual society we rarely, or may never, even meet, or may not know that we have met, a liberated soul. It is the most difficult task for man to attain perfection. But Vinoba assures that the aspirant need not sink in despair, since the grace of God comes to his help when he needs it most.[136] But the fun is that when one declares that one has attained self-realization one is empty of it.[137] Realization is the end of the three distinctions of the scene, the observer and the knowledge, present on the ordinary conscious level.[138] And to say that I have attained perfection is to create a gulf between myself and the state of perfection. Vinoba says that it is unwarranted even to discuss whether in the state of realization (*soham*) one becomes one with the Brahman or one only becomes like the Lord, or becomes a part of Him. What we aspire for and meditate on, we attain. It is to be understood through actual realization. The state is ineffable, every attempt to express it in words creates controversies and not understanding.[139]

And still one can well imagine the life of a liberated person. The Gita is the spiritual reference book for Gandhi,[140] while Vinoba is maddened by the spiritual depth of it. The *sthitaprajna* of the Gita represents, for both of them, the spiritual ideal of human life. The very name indicates that he is in possession of steadfast wisdom as the result of his highest understanding of oneness of Atma and of ideal behaviour in any and every circumstance. Being detached (*Anabhisnehah*) to pain, pleasure and temptation, he ever enjoys the highest peace of mind (*prasanna chetasah*). The key to this state is his desire-less-ness (*prajahati kaman*) and selfless-ness (*nirahankarah*). He is steeped in the light of Atman and finds all comfort within It (*Atmanyevatmanahtustah*).[141] Realizaing the spiritual

oneness of the whole cosmos he becomes boundless (*Vyapaka*) and free (*Swatantra*). He thus becomes Love incarnate and hugs all good or bad, revers everything beautiful or ugly.[142]

Does he do actions ? The Gita according to Gandhi, is the gospel of selfless action. Gita's ideal man must therefore be active in everyday life. Like Aurobindo and Tilak, Gandhi too feels it necessary that a liberated person should be active and should set an example of ideal behaviour to the people in society.[143] But Sankara has been taken to have declared the absence of action after the attainment of realization, since the liberated soul becomes one with the Reality that neither acts nor enjoys. Vinoba bridges the gulf between these seemingly opposite views by pointing out that the ideal man may be full of action but is never active. There is a subtle but clear distinction between 'action' and 'activity' (*karma* and *kriya*).[144] Life is action itself, while activity springs with the motivity, that is to say, with the initiative of indivdual's ego—which is absent in a libearted person, though outwardly he may seem to be active. That is why Vinoba says that the paths of Suka and Janaka appear to be different but fundamentally they are one (*Suka Janaka-yoh ekah panthah*).[145] Some liberated persons like Janaka and Krishna are engrossed in incessant work that benefits the people, and some like Suka and Yajnavalkya, wandering from place to place and preaching the highest knowledge 'doing' nothing.[146] For the sake of convenience, Gita calls one path *Sankhya* and the other *Yoga*. Some become known as *sanyasi* others as *karmayogi*. The karmayogi doing everything 'does' nothing, while the sanyasi 'doing' nothing, does everything.[147] The state of the absence of activity (*Akarmadasa*) is common to both of them. That is why even Sankara says that the liberated soul "doing" even the prohibited works (*sarva karmanyapi nisiddhānyapi kurvanah*)[148] is not besmeared with sin.

But still like the Gita itself, Vinoba also emphasises the path of karma. Though ultimately karma and knowledge are of

equal value in the state of the absence of karma (*akarma sthiti*), from the point of view of the seeker, karma is of real importance.[149] The path of the renunciation of the fruits of action (*karma-yoga*) is the end as well as the means while the path of the renunciation of action (*karmatyaga or sanyasa*) or of perfect knowledge is only the end.[150] That is why karma-action-is created for being the mother of the state of the absence of karma (*akarmadasa*).[151]

It is not only that in the liberated person only *jnana and karma*—knowledge and action, come to meet, he is at the same time a devotee (*Bhakta*). The paths of knowledge, karma and devotion are equated by Vinoba.[152] The action of one who knows that the spiritual Reality fills this world through and through, naturally becomes worship. The cosmos, the individual soul, and the Lord, all are one[153] and still the play of devotional love goes on.[154] The shape, weight, and the taste of a piece of a sweetmeat, are all unitedly one, so also in the life of the liberated person devotion, action and knowledge are filled to the brink. The three are literally one and the same.[155]

The Gita says, such a person attains the state of *Brahmanirvana*. Is this state the same as that of Nirvana in Buddhism ? Vinoba declares that one who sees that Brahma-nirvāna and Nirvana are one and the same, alone realizes the truth (*ekam Brahma ca Śūnyam ca yah paśyati sa paśyati*).[156] The controversy centred on the difference between the concepts of Brahma and Sunya is an idle one. At that stage there is no duality, no nature, no sight. No macrocosm, no microcosm. Neither name nor form, no quality, none of the actions. Neither universal nor particular.[157] But it is neither nothingness (*Śūnya*) nor non-nothingness (*asunya*). Yet the believers in the Vedas like to call it in a positive term—Brahma and the Buddhists prefer to name it negatively—Sunya. To shake off the delusion of self-hood and blow out the lamp of separateness is itself Nirvana—why then use a positive term ? And yet the positive term Brahma-nirvana signifies nothing in the empirical

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world since the intuitive non-dual experience allows no conceptualizing. The Gita synthesises the negative and positive tendencies of representing that experience and shows that it is negatively positive.[158]

VIII. A Plea to be a *Viśva-Mānava*

In Sarvodaya philosophy all human beings are believed to be capable of arriving at, or at least nearing the stage of the *Sthitaprajna*.[159] According to Vinoba, particularly in this atomic age when man's unbalanced mental condition would cause disaster, it is necessary that the modern man should end his ego-centric life. Vinoba sees the hopeful possibility "Man can turn this world into heaven if he can match the greatness of his knowledge with that of his heart."[160] For this, according to him, the metaphysics of Vedanta should be the life philosophy of every common man, even in villages, if happiness is to dawn on earth.[161] The creation of *Viśva-mānava*—a full race of him—is the demand of the present era.[162] To Aurobindo, "the gnostic individual would be the consummation of the spiritual man, his whole way of being, thinking, living, acting would be governed by the power of a vast universal spirituality."[163] And the target of the Sarvodaya thinkers is equally lofty. Only the free and boundless personality of the *Visvamanava* bearing not even a trace of limited egoism peeping through loyalty to particular people, nation, religion or race, can alone be the hope of future generations. The Idealism of Sarvodaya maintains what father of Svetaketu—Aruni—preached "Thou art that" and emphasises that the time has come when we should realise this in practice and make it 'practical' by a collective spiritual effort.[164]

It should be added that this metaphysical world-view is not a 'must' for a Sarvodaya worker. Uptil now it has become clear that Sarvodaya society stands for free-thinking. This holds true even in the case of metaphysical stand point. The critical statement of the metaphysical background discussed in this chapter has been put forth not merely as a representative stand-point of the

most of the Sarvodaya leaders, it has been given so much prominence because it seems to be the logical corollary of the Sarvodaya thought and action. Besides Gandhi, Vinoba, and others, who represent the idealism of Vedanta, there are some who prefer to be ethical philosophers. They reject consideration of the spiritual value of liberation. There are others who are deeply religious belonging to different traditional faiths. There are still some other Sarvodaya workers who are staunch atheists. The only thing that is a ' must ' for a Sarvodaya worker is that he should believe in the indivisible and harmonious character of human good and non-violent means to attain it. Vinoba often says that uniformity in action for the good of all is a necessity while there may and should be differences in thought.

In the chapter that follows we shall understand and examine the psychological implications of Sarvodaya thought. ●

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Chapter Eight

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION OF THE SARVODAYA THOUGHT

I. Sarvodaya and the Approach of Indian Psychology

The test of the Sarvodaya ideology should be considered to be not so much in producing a logically consistent philosophic system, as in accepting the challenge of the complex and intricate day-to-day problems of human life. The eternal values of Truth and Love based on the unity of Life are a heritage from the past. What characterises the Sarvodaya movement is its aspiration to realise these values to their logical end in practical life. Consequently in the process of social transformation, strife and compulsion are ruled out from the technique of revolution. Mutual love and understanding should be the only means of such transformation. Humanity has witnessed a perennial line of experience and experiments that have shown some individuals at least as nearing the realisation of the ideal. Sarvodaya leaders put forth the non-dualistic contention, that whatever has been proved possible even once in the history of humanity through the life of a single individual, is capable of realising itself throughout the human world.[1] If such an edifice is to be built, one should legitimately expect that it requires the foundation of the psychological nature of man. The idealistic 'should' needs the support of the realists 'can'. We shall have to enquire what the psychological fundamentals of man, according to, Sarvodaya are. They should be consistent with the findings of the psychologists both in the East and the West.

The science of psychology has displayed different trends in the East and the West. The world of experience consists of two aspects of experience—subjective and objective. It is true that their contours get at many points intermingled, and their spheres suffer

expansion and contraction. But the consciousness of one's sensations, desires, pain and pleasure, marks itself off from that of the objects of the world outside, e. g. of blue sky, green fields and flowing streams. It is generally accepted that the Eastern people have turned inward and dived deep into the subjective consciousness[2], while the Westerners find more satisfaction in investigating truth of the external world. The psychological findings of both of them, naturally, bear the stamp of their respective tendencies. While epistemology and metaphysics play a very important role in Indian psychology, the methods of natural science colour the findings of the western psychological quest. In the west modern psychology is a new and zealous branch of natural Science, man has been developing since the dawn of the last century. Though no unanimous and final conclusions about the nature of man have been reached so far, still they provide a rough criterion of judging the aspirations of humanity.

Psychology in India has never been separated from the philosophical search. Philosophy has served to enlighten every enquiry whatever about the animate and the inanimate world here in modern times as well as in ancient periods. Men of genius almost invariably kept the compass of their metaphysical standpoint as the guidance for their voyage of life. Redemption from the turmoil of the cycles of birth and death, detachment from pain and pleasure of mind, and attainment of enlightening self realisation through the knowledge of the ultimate Reality have been the ideas of both the orthodox and the unorthodox schools of philosophy.[3] Since *Avidya* or *Maya*—ignorance and deceptive knowledge are the root cause of painful and weary existence on earth, true knowledge can alone help to make it worth living and blissful besides assuring the goal of salvation. As a result epistemology and analysis of the nature of individual self or psyche demand attention, since therein lies the key to the diagnosis and remedy of ignorance. Attachment to mental and

bodily sensations, clinging to individual self, is generally considered to be the result of that cosmic ignorance which would be dispelled either by the merger of the individual soul in the ultimate spiritual Reality, or by the cessation of individuality, or by keeping the individual *purusa* aloof from the alluring dance of *prakriti*. The path of salvation passes through the strenuous discipline of body and mind. Mental faculties and bodily sensations are dealt with only with a view to transcend them and reach a stage where all earthly longings are rendered pointless and therefore worthy to be discarded. It is the aspiration for peaceful and blissful state of living, and not the urge merely to enquire and ascertain the nature of human psyche, that characterises the psychological search in Indian philosophy.

The Sarvodaya thinkers are not exceptions to this tendency of the Indian spiritual leaders. Search after Truth had been Gandhi's sole purpose in life.[4] God as Truth was the ultimate all-pervading reality to him. He considered all spheres of life as proper subjects for religious approach. Through each and every activity, he believed, man should strive to reach the ideal of truth-realization[5]—which for him was the same as self-realization. Vinoba too, left home, while still young, in the hope of unravelling the secret of ultimate Reality—*Brahman*.[6] The whole of creation either consciously or unconsciously, but incessantly, is marching towards the goal of liberation. In nature, up to man, this string is unconscious, but in man nature has become conscious of hereself and her goals—hence, the beginning of conscious-effort to reach the goal through new impressions (*samskaras*) and discipline. The realization through actual experience of the ultimate spiritual unity, within and without, in and through, human existence is the fixed star of concentration for the Sarvodaya thinkers.[7]

The Sarvodaya thinkers also trace the cause of bondage to the ignorance of this ultimate Reality. All strife and the consequential unhappiness in human world is due to the lack of understanding of

this ultimate oneness,[8] due to the misconception that body and mind, along with their own limitations and impressions, constitute a separate and ultimate unit with which each individual is to be identified. Knowledge of the ultimate oneness is, therefore, the fundamental cure, according to them.

Soul is all consciousness and all knowledge, it is the *maya* or *prakriti* that covers it and spreads ignorance. Mind with its flickery nature belongs to the realm of *prakriti*. However subtle it may be, however speedy and alert it may look, it is ultimately an evolute of matter.[9] That is why, in order to uncover the all-knowing soul, one has to go beyond it. Like everything in the realm of *prakriti* it is constituted by the three *gunas—sattva, rajas* and *tamas*.[10] Sarvodaya thinkers are not worried about the constituent factors of our empirical nature. Whether we accept the *Sankhya* theory of evolution and its description of phenomenon, or we agree with the modern scientific theory about the phenomenal world, what they emphasize is the phenomenal nature of mind which has at its background a spiritual reality. They do not concern themselves even with the epistemological intricacies which dominate the age of Systems. Mind and intellect know the world only because they are pierced through by the all-consciousness-soul. And ultimately what is *prakriti* but the spontaneous expression of the ultimate Reality?[11] That is why mind, along with its impressions instead of being hindrance, can serve to uncover the ultimate Reality if it is properly trained. Rigorous discipline of mind thus occupies an important place in Sarvodaya teachings.

II. Human Nature

Faith in the ultimate Reality that expresses itself through love sustaining the world, is the basis of Gandhi's and Vinoba's basic contention that fundamentally man is good by nature. Love reveals through the creative, constructive and evolving nature of

the world—so too it does in man. This ultimate goodness is the hope of all striving towards progress. "I believe that the sum total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious, working of the law of love."[12] The Sarvodaya thinkers are at the same time keenly aware of the fact that the human world is not all blissful and happy. This makes one conscious of the evil factors in man's nature which may only be an outer layer. "Every one of us is a mixture of good and evil"[13] says Gandhi. To him Darwin's evolutionary theory speaks at least a partial truth. There can be no doubt about the animal ancestry of man.[14] And since struggle for existence holds good in the animal kingdom before the appearance of man on the stage of earth, there is no wonder if latent animality peeps through human existence. Though the principle of heredity is not the sole determining factor, still the common ancestry, or what the psychologist Jung called "racial unconscious', leaves no exception. Dealing with the problem of dacoits in the Chambal Valley, Vinoba has emphasized that the dacoits and police—the wicked (may be so-called or true) and gentlemen—all have a similar nature—a combination of good and bad.[15] The three gunas in infinite ways form varieties of human mind and one and all have to suffer until the veil of these *gunas* is torn off! Greed and covetiousness, hatred and anger, base desires and meanness of attitude, inclination towards self-preservation at the cost of others;—all these many times prove stronger in the tug of war between the two parties, evil and good, on the battle-field of man's mind. But there is every possibility of a dacoit turning into a sage by the strength of his will, by discipline, and thus by realizing the truth about life. If man were wholly wicked and if strife were his real nature, this human world would have been extinct long ago.[16] What is the criterion to decide man's true nature? Obviously we have to depend on the actual experience of mankind throughout the past ages. Man has waged thousands of wars

since he came in conflict with other man or group, but each time he has strived to secure peace. From 1500 B. C. to 1860 A. D. eight thousand treaties were arranged to secure permanent peace.[17] Peace has its own value.[18] Otherwise man would have divided his time into three periods—Pre-war, war and post-war periods. Sarvodaya thinkers ask—if war were natural, could man have found pleasure and romance in the tales of war? Could we have recorded it?[19] Instead, we find the history of mankind encumbered by the disgustful and brutal strifes which are valued as novel and worthy of record.[20] On the other hand, the peaceful and loving family-life of the millions of common humble people has not deserved even a mention in these records. What is natural becomes ordinary and needs no advertisement, since it exists by right; it yearns not for recognition, since it is the very stuff of living itself.[21] Recorded history is the reminiscence of the negation of man's fundamental and true nature. That is why Gandhi said " The moment he awakens to the spirit within, he cannot remain violent ".[22] Same is true of the other harmful aspects of human mind. Like Spinoza, Sarvodaya thinkers consider these as diseases demanding remedy[23]—but, do not diseases themselves point to the fundamental state of health?

Such undaunted faith in man's goodness validates the value of discipline through education. The need for discipline itself reveals the dual nature of man—one aspect ever flickery, changing its objects and identifying itself with them every moment—the other demanding steadying and quieting discriminative attitude. The strength of these two aspects varies from man to man, that is why discipline should also vary according to the capacity of each man. This seems to be one meaning of what Gandhi said, that there are as many religions as there are individuals.[24] Discipline and education have to consider the capacity of man. Therefore genuine self-control " must brace one up " while the mechanical one " unnerves or saddens one."[25]

III. The Spiritual Discipline

Psychologically the eleven spiritual vows[26] meant for the aspirants of the *āśrama* are of great importance. They not only give a modern version of Yamas and Niyamas of *Yoga Sūtras* of Patanjali, but add much to their meaning and extend their sphere of application, though their objective is the same—the control of mental functions. All the Āśrama vows have positive contents that show the way to the cultivation of virtues.

Gandhi has treated Satya first in his book 'From Yerawadā Mandir' since it is not merely a vow but it is, in its deep and fundamental meaning, 'being', or God, who is to be attained through all other restraints and observances.[27] *Ahimsā* is love for all creatures as well as abstention from violence. "The principle of Ahimsā is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody."[28] All these are due to the sense of 'I'ness which is non-plussed by humility. And humility is the attitude of auspicious love. Vinoba remarks, "All creation should appear to us auspicious and friendly."[29] *Brahmacarya* is "conduct adapted to the search of Brahma."[30] It pertains to the "control of all organs of sense." It purges the attachment of its impurities.[31] *Asteya* is not merely nonstealing whatever belongs to others, but not to possess anything that we do not need.[32] This links itself with non-possession. A man who gives thought to tomorrow cannot concentrate on his duty of today and cannot proceed to self-lessness. "Deliberate and voluntary restrictions of wants" alone can orient self-less service.[33] Bread-labour becomes an aid to *Sayta* and *Ahimsa* and *Brahmacarya* observance.[34] Besides by cultivating the skill of hands it makes for intellectual development. How can a spiritual seeker let loose his palate ? Control of palate helps one to attain to Brahmacarya. Attachment creates fear. Attachment " for wealth, for family and for the body " reinforce " animal passion, anger and the like."[35] Hence, fearlessness is the prime necessity for the realiza-

tion of truth. All these vows, though individualistic in appearance, have significant social content since they are the essence of peaceful and self-controlled social life. The last three of the Asram vows reveal even the broader implications of the methods adopted to realise truth. They require understanding of the Sarvodaya thought-background which also throws light on the eight vows seen uptill now. Gandhi was one of the modern spiritual visionaries who linked personal salvation with social upliftment in spiritual as well as material sense. Like *Prahlada* and the Buddha the Sarvodaya thinkers too yearn for the salvation of fellow-brothers. This makes more demands on the seeker of truth. The ninth vow—equal reverence for all religions—springs from the consciousness that the different religious practices at different places in human world are but various attempts at reaching the ideal of truth or God—all aiming at purging impurities from mind, therefore all deserve equal reverence and consideration. *Sparsabhavana*—the cultivation of the sense of purity in touch—is a special vow to be taken in Indian context. Untouchability is the excrescence prevalent in the body-society. It helps to the understanding of equality in social life by eradicating unjust discrimination of higher and lower strata based on birth. This is to strengthen the sense of friendliness (*samatvabhavana*). Does this vow go against the first Niyama[36] of Patanjala-yoga? It does not. The implication of purity (*sauca*) as creating disgust for one's body (*svangajugupsa*) and cessation of contact with others (*paraitasangah*) are well recognised by Gandhi elsewhere. He says "mortification of the flesh is a necessity" since body is the centre of 'I'ness.[37] Purity, internal and external, is of prime importance to him. For this reason he values the "hoary institution of" fast which cleanses body, mind and soul". It crucifies the flesh and to that extent sets the soul free."[38] And what is the purpose of cessation of contact with others? Is it not to save one from the allurements of the senses and attachment to pleasure? Gandhi and other Sarvodaya

thinkers are anything but the votaries of pleasure-seeking. The control of palate and other vows clearly emphasise detachment for body. Therefore, *sparsabhavana* is a separate and independent vow advised to be taken for the cultivation of friendliness about which Vinoba speaks in his talks on the Gita. *Santosa* or contentment is not separately mentioned, but can be said to be implied in other vows, since in its absence no spiritual progress is possible. Bread-labour and the tenth vow of Swadesi are nothing but Tapas in distinct forms. Can we not see Swadhyaya in Gandhi's special consideration of Ramanama and prayer ?. Utterance of the name of God and prayer carry devotion to God. Worship of God should be through prayer which is " an unfailing means of cleansing the heart of passions."[39] Devotion to God is the same as the service to fellow-beings. Man's field of service is determined by the limitation of his body. That is why when he desires well-being of all creation he may actually serve only the society in which he is born. There is no danger of limiting one's horizons out of selfishness in the name of Swadesi, since " Swadesi is a doctrine of selfless service, that has its roots in the purest *ahimsa*, i. e., love."[40] Hence it is conducive of universality of outlook. Moreover, to Gandhi, " in its ultimate and spiritual sense, Swadesi stands for the final emancipation of soul from her earthly bondage."[41]

IV. Karma-Yoga

In Sarvodaya the yogic practices reaching the *samadhi* stage are not as much emphasised as the practices in karma-yoga. Gandhi says, " I am a stranger to yogic practices ".[42] Vinoba very beautifully points out how the three steps in the yoga of spirituality are ascended by the *Jnana-yoga* or *Sankhya*, *Dhyana-yoga* and *karma-yoga*. .the first step indicates theoretical knowledge of the Ultimate Reality and the other two constitute its living.[43] If liberation is to be conceived as the target of spiritual life—the arrow of *Dyāna-yoga* is meant to hit it. But *Sankhya-yoga* should point out its

direction and *Karma-yoga* should give it speed.[14] In the *Pranayama* of spirituality these three yogas—karma, sankhya (or *jnana*) and *dhyana* can be said to be external (*Recaka*), internal (*Puraka*) and total (*kumbhaka*) restraints of breath.[15] As a first step, the science of the Art of life, that is to say, the theoretical knowledge about the ultimate oneness of spiritual Reality is essential.[16] But how to turn our flickery mind towards it? How "to still the wheels of the mind and fix it in the self and think of nothing else"?[17] Vinoba writes, "till the mind changes, no concentration is possible. The state of mind should be pure, and this cannot be achieved by assuming only an erect posture. All our activity should be pure. To purify activity, its motive should be transformed. Activity should not be pursued for one's individual profit, for satisfying the instincts, or for outward objects."[18] Service should take the form of worship which is possible only if the world is auspicious to us. Mere work has no spiritual value.[19] The attitude, the emotional orientation is the thing that transforms the nature of gross work.[20] In Vinoba's words the auspicious and friendly outlook is the Vikarma or Karma done as Sādhanā to reach the stage of *Akarma* (actionlessness). At this ultimate stage, whether one works in social life or merely contemplates and leads solitary life makes no difference spiritually.[21] But work has special value until the spiritual aspirant has not reached the target of liberation.

This compulsory step of karma-yoga for all has deep significance, since it brushes off the faulty distinction between the ascetic practices and those meant for the common man. What is needed is the purifying understanding behind the work done (*vikarma*). This takes us to the doctrine of *swadharma* elucidated in the Gita and so much valued by the Sarvodaya thinkers. Natural capacities of man—physical, mental, intellectual—and his social environment decide the duty of every man. When in a detached way one does one's duty, mind gets purified. Is not mind a subtle manifestation of the three Gunas—the three constitutents of *prakriti*? If one has

to transcend mind through its purification, one has to get rid of the influence of its three characteristics, *tamas, rajas* and even *sattva*. Laziness and loathsome temperament are to be fought by bodily labour.[53] Vinoba says, our senses are characterised by a natural speed to reach their objects. *Rajas* makes for too much speed and hinders concentration. According to him, this speed can be checked not by the suppression of nature of senses, but by guiding them on their right path—this is the path of *swadharma*—one's natural duty.[54] But one should also take precaution to prevent these two gunas—*rajas* and *tamas*—from cancelling each other. Alertness alone guarantees that the duty done will be faultless,[55] wherein neither excessive tamas nor too much of rajas will prevail. Though sattva indicates knowledge, because Knowledge is the very substance of our spiritual being—soul—it is not its quality. But when one becomes conscious of one's knowledge it is nothing but the ego 'I'ness, though of the sattvika type. Humility is the sole remedy for such 'I' consciousness; but it should spring from the understanding of the beyondness of the ultimate Reality. Then, how to take the flight beyond *sattva*? Vinoba answers—through the cultivation of sattva itself one can reach beyond it. Here is the extreme limit of human effort—henceforward whatever remains needs the help of the ultimate power.[56] Hence, the Gita's message to dedicate every act, why, every aspect of one's life, to God. Devotion to Lord alone makes one's life faultless and carries one to the ultimate abode of liberation. This is the end of the psycho-ethical discipline.

We have seen that the Sarvodaya thinkers have emphasised the social significance of the individual spiritual strivings and the disciplines thereof. We may find in the technique and preparation of Satyagraha an understanding of the social mind. As a psychologist Gandhi knew the character of the masses. He preferred individual-satyagraha to mass-satyagraha, since masses do easily display flickery nature. But he also believed in the people's "amazing responsive

nature". He, therefore, maintained "let not the leaders distrust .. . the people's ability to control themselves ... nothing is so easy as to train mobs for the simple reason that they have no mind, no pre-meditation."[57] Hence, men and women of all ages were considered by him to be fit for Satyagraha. The technique of Satyagraha also reveals the faith in man's capacity to understand. Man is homo sapions. His ultimate goodness or the capacity to love includes his rationality that enables him to grasp the truth of life. Gandhi intended that Satyagraha be a discipline and education both to the Satyagrahi and the so-called opponent.

But are body and mind suppressed through this discipline? We find critics accusing Gandhi of regorism and asceticism. Indeed Gandhi does approve of "mortification of flesh" since to him body—this earthly tabernacle is not her (soul's) natural or permanent abode, it is hindrance in her onward journey.[58] Vinoba disallows eyes to look at many things and ears to hear unworthy words.[59] It is difficult to say what such rigour can achieve if the mind is not fixed on the self, and if it is fixed, such rigorous observances are unnecessary. It is, of course, true that none of the Sarvodaya thinkers recommend dry discipline for its own sake and, moreover, they emphasize the need of paying due attention to bodily needs. They have warned that one should be mindful of one's limitations. Sharpening of intellect is sought to be achieved through physical labour and other aids. It is psychologically approved that intellectual development through the actual dealing with problems of life is achieved better than through mere theoretical and book-learning. In this sense the whole scheme of New Education is intended to develop body, mind and intellect to their full capacity along with the knowledge and practice of control over them. Education is the way to dispel the veils of these through their proper use and control in order to uncover by the means of knowledge, the Ultimate Reality.

The yogic discipline culminates in *samadhi*. One-pointedness

and stillness of mind, naturally, fulfil themselves by merging in the blissful state of *samadhi*—the equipoise of inner nature—where all duality vanishes. For a *karmayogi* it can be said to be attained through *vikarma*—the attitude behind karma. When karma becomes as spontaneous and natural as breathing, it is then *karma-samadhi*. But is it merely a state of mind—like the other ever changing and contradicting states ? It cannot be. It is what Kabira called *Sahaja Samadhi*. It is the spontaneous and continuous working of our very being which is definitely beyond mind. On this state of *samadhi* Vinoba has shed a flood of light in his book '*Sthitaprajna Darsana*'. To him samadhi is of two types—one constituting a state of mind (*vritti*) which is, of course, subject to change and the other revealing the nature of Being (*sthiti*) or Reality itself.[60] This last stage allows no change. One who has reached it remains unaffected even by the volcanic upsurges in personal or social life—since it is a state beyond mind. The Patanjala *Yoga Sutras* also aim ultimately at this—since after samadhi the last stage of prajna is mentioned.[61] The state of equipoise surpasses beyond the concentration stage and culminates in the natural and spontaneous stage of living. The Sthitaprajna of the Gita represents this ideal. He has attained pure and stainless intellect which is impersonal and therefore without any impression of likes and dislikes, love and hate that contaminate the intellect and understanding of one who lacks both the Sankhya and Yoga of spirituality. The steadfast and pure intellect unhesitatingly stands erect and shows the right direction.[62] If people choose, they—one and all—can attain it. The capacity of the intellect may differ from man to man but the possibility of its being pure in every one is always there.[63] This is the hope of all disciplined education. In Satyagraha there is a hope to arouse this enlightened intellect.

V. The Concept of Corporate Samadhi

But the most important contrib [illegible] odaya psychological thought to philosophy is the con [illegible] *te samadhi*—samadh

of a society as a whole.[61] Sitting on the spot where Ramakrusna Paramahansa was absorbed in samadhi, Vinoba said that like science spirituality has also limitless possibilities of development. Uptill now we have heard of individual's samadhi, now we shall have to reach the next target of social samadhi.[65] The society which is working smoothly and harmoniously without any conflict and friction and turning the wheel of samsara 'self'—forgetfully, can be said to be absorbed in samadhi. Like the Maharastra saint Tukarama Vinoba sings, "when shall I see all become one, all become society, all become Brahman"? In reality, liberation is not something which could be 'mine'.. ...the very expression 'my moksa' is contradiction in terms. *Moksa* is attained only after 'mine' is dispelled.[66]

Is there any hope of reaching this ideal ? As all other ideals it may be unrealisable in completeness but there has been created a situation in the human world at the present stage that demands the realization of this ideal. According to Vinoba "thought and desire, hope and despair are the mental powers that work in man. Fear and courage, love and attachment are also mental functions in man."[67] He points out that this is the age of science. It has turned man into a small God[68] who can destroy as well as create. The mental faculties of man and the creative capacity of God, both combined, are therefore "capable of yielding dangerous consequences."[69] The fact is that the level of science like that of God is beyond the level of human mind.[70] At this level the psychology of previous days is a false guide since science has compelled us to undertake spiritual reflection where love and hate vanish.[71] And what is more, science demands that we should take to a collective form of the same spiritual effort (*sadhana*)[72] Uptill now Samyayoga provided merely the roof for human life to which only a few could ascend, it is today's necessity that it should form the foundation of our society. That is why Samyayoga has become a matter for realization by the society at large.[73] Vinoba has rightly

acknowledged the contribution that Aurobindo has made in this connection. To counteract mental differences, flowering in conflict, man should be " indifferent " to these. " Sri Aurobindo, therefore, used to speak about the supramental. "[71]

Yoga, according to Aurobindo, should seek to " reunite God and Nature in a liberated and perfected human life".[75] All methods of yoga–*Hatha*, *Raja*, *Karma*, Devotion, Knowledge of *Tantra*–are psychological endeavours to develop the latent powers of Nature into manifested actualities.[76] But all of them somewhat neglected the " divine intention " of our body and mind. Integral-yoga of Aurobindo, he maintains, aims at perfection which includes and uses the perfection of body and mind for the attainment of supramental stage. " Supermind is spiritual consciousness acting as a self luminous knowledge, will, sense, aesthetic energy, self-creative and unveiling power of its own delight and being. Mind is the action of the same powers, but limited and only indirectly and partially illumined. Supermind lives in unity though it plays with diversity ; mind lives in a separative action of diversity though it may open to unity.[77] To become aware of this truth of our being, to realise it, to make it effective here or elsewhere is the object of all yoga and " no matter whether by knowledge, works, love or any other means " we attain to it. But is yoga and its fulfilment a personal affair with no concern for the human world at large ? Aurobindo emphatically denies this. In fact, only after an individual is liberated he is able to work for the upliftment of the race. " The extension of our liberty and of its results in others would be the inevitable outcome as well as the broadest utility of our liberation and perfection. And the constant and inherent attempt of such an extension would be towards its increasing and ultimately complete generalization in mankind ". Aurobindo visualises perfection of human society as a whole. Just as the gnostic superman reveals integrated spiritual personality through the union of freedom and order, a " gnostic collectivity would have the same inte-

gration of life and action in unison, the same realised and conscious unity of being ".[78] Such perfection of individual and through him of society is not treated as a day-dream of a *yogi* but Aurobindo started actual experimentation of such community life in his Asrama at Pondicheri.

Thus we find that the Indian psychological research from ancient to modern times not only consents but vigorously supports the Sarvodaya contention that mankind should rise above its to-day's psychological limitations and that it has full capacity to do so; only an urgent and strenuous effort is lacking.

VI. The Western Approach to Psychology

But what is the verdict of the western quest for the understanding of human mind ? Modern western mind seems to be rather reluctant to think of visions far removed from the present state of human existence. Its psychological investigations, therefore, are more or less tied down to the actualities about men and society. They will, therefore, provide a pragmatic criterion to judge the solidity of Sarvodaya aspirations.

In the West before the modern urge to detach psychological enquiry from the general philosophical search in order to make it stand as a distinct science like other natural sciences on its own feet, psychological considerations were a part and parcel of general philosophical ideas. The new movement assumed different forms and carried experimental investigations in various channels, but all agreed in keeping away the metaphysical idealistic gropings and epistemological snares. It was Watson who vehemently attacked even the slightest tendency to use the 'mentalistic' concepts and to give any reference to consciousness.[79] Psychology was to him a " purely objective experimental branch of natural science " aiming at prediction and control of behaviour. " Man to him is not a conscious being but a perfect machine ready to run " [80] who can be moulded and shaped according to will (?) since there is nothing like heredity. In fact, Behaviourism was not merely a

school of psychology but a system of materialistic metaphysics built to counteract the old idealistic metaphysics and religion. "It was a religion to take the place of religion ".[81] What we are concerned with, here, is not whether Watson pays homage to spiritualistic contentions of Sarvodaya or not, but whether he assents to their zeal for improving human race and make it ascend the peaks of new harmonies in social and individual lives unattained uptill now. It is amusing to note that since in his most mechanically ordained universe Watson could guarantee freedom to shape humanity by controlling environment he disarms himself and affords not in the least to resist the Sarvodaya educational theory apart from its metaphysical aspect.

Gestaltists, like the Sarvodaya thinkers themselves, are completely against the 'piece meal' treatment of man and his faculties. Their appreciation of the role of insight in learning go to support the Sarvodaya way of treating human life as a whole.

VII. War and Mutual Aid

But what if human being has some fixed instincts or even propensities which could never be changed and will always stand as a wall against any reform in man and society? Fortunately, not only for those who believe in Sarvodaya, but also for the whole of humanity, no serious psychologist argues in that vein. Though the noteworthy American psychologist William James thought that our instinctive nature is more impulsive rather than rational, he was far from holding that instincts are "blind and invariable." In fact, he believed in man's capacity of forming new habits and thus change the original impulses. It was Mc Dougall's Hormic Psychology that provided a list of human "native propensities,"[82] that guide and control whole of human affair. They are "the prime movers of all human activity."[83] The main propensities are counted as twelve in number though many more minor ones are also enumerated. The propensities are—hunger, disgust,

curiosity, fear, anger, mating propensity, mothering propensity, gregarious propensity, self-assertive, subversive, constructive and acquisitive propensities. Mc Dougall granted that on sensory and motor sides the propensities are modified though the emotional core of these remains intact. Hence, he admits that their " model of expression have changed with the growth of civilisation. "[84] About the propensity of combating he writes, " as the development of law and custom discourages and renders unnecessary the bodily combat of individuals, this gives place to the collective combat of communities and to the more refined forms of combat in thir communities. "[85] The tendency to explain behaviour by giving it a name and calling it instinct is not much appreciated by the psychologists. And since it becomes difficult to make separation between the native and the acquired elements in behaviour psychologists have become " more critical of instincts and more inclined to lay all their emphasis on learning. "[86] Apart from these considerations one can easily see that man's behavioural expression is changing from time to time according to the demands of situation[87] in civilization, and therefore, the thought, that modern scientific age and international situations demand cessation of warfare in the present form and induce thoughtful men to deal with their problem peacefully, need not suffer criticism from the Hormic school.

The point of dispute can be said to be whether man is as rational and good as the Sarvodaya thinkers take him to be. The Sarvodaya thinkers point out that love and cooperation, reason and consideration do play important role and can be said to be the saving powers in human life. Blind impulse and selfish urges are, no doubt, there but they are not the sole actors in the human drama. Moral grandeur and sublime altruism are also facts of human life. Aldous Huxley has given instances of certain societies wherein conflict and competition were absent, there were even small kingdoms that eschewed exploitation and violence to a great extent.[88]

In his systematic study of how ' Mutual Aid ' has been a powerful and deciding factor in the evolution of life, Prince Kropotkin has given enormous evidence in favour of his contention. Commenting on the laws of ' struggle for existence ' and 'the survival of the fittest ' in Darwinian evolutionary theory, he says, " This view, however I could not accept, because I was persuaded that to admit a pitiless inner war for life within each species, and to see in that war a condition of progress, was to admit something which not only had not yet been proved, but also lacked confirmation from observation." [89] He has pointed that ' Mutual Aid ' is an instinct—developed in the course of an extremely long evolution," and has further added—It is referred to ' not only as an argument in favour of a prehuman origin of moral instincts, but also a law of nature and a factor of evolution."[90] Kropotkin has also discussed the role of this instinct in human life throughout the past ages. ' A high standard of morality ' is seen among the tribes of Eskimoes and Aleoutes.[91] Uptill modern times each age has revealed self-sacrificing forces on the part of individuals for the benefit of society at large.[92] Even today mutual aid is prominent in the villagers of communes. According to him " the gist of human psychology " is seen in this fact · " Hearing a cry for help man spontaneously goes out and responds. "[93] Realistically Kropotkin admits that in the modern age "······the absence of common interest nurtures indifference. " This has made us much more selfish than our forefathers.[94] The maxim, "Man can and must seek their own happiness in disregard of other people's wants is now triumphant all round—in law, in science, in religion. "[95] But Kropotkin is hopeful about the future of humanity. According to him, ethical progress of man lies in " the perception of his oneness with each human being. "[96] ' Mutual aid ' contains the seeds of morality. " In its wide extension even at the present time, we also see the best guarantee of a still loftier evolution of our race. "[97]

Some may contend that the institution of war has only been

a reality of the past ages, but its refined and gigantic forms are a fact of today. No nation seems to eschew military and no people seriously demand it. Psychologists too have to concede this fact. But psychologists have equally to find the possibilities inherent in human nature. Those who believe in education and in the feasibility of the transformation of human life for harmonious and smooth working of society cannot but be hopeful about the future of humanity. And Sarvodaya thought rests assured with such consideration on the part of psychologists.

VIII. Psycho-analysis and the Hidden Energies of Man

We come across similar hopeful consideration while studying psychoanalytic school of psychology. Freud as a medical man worked to cure his mentally unbalanced patients and came to some conclusions about human nature. His emphasis on sex instinct with its conscious and unconscious strength playing various roles in social and individual lives through sublimation, suppression and chanalisation received a blow from his own shift to the doctrine of life and death instincts in his latter life. His co-workers, Adler and Jung, recognised 'ego' and 'libido' respectively as the important forces working in human life. Adler held that " the child has, at least, a native capacity for friendly, loving response, and this germ will develop into a loyal cooperative spirit if the child is properly treated in the first few years. "[98] The family circumstances mostly decide the child's " style of life " that remains more or less constant throughout its life. Jung's ' libido ' includes Freud's meaning of it as also Adler's ' ego '. To him the unconscious was not merely individual but even racial or collective. He valued " the deeply human religious instinct" ,[99] which goes beyond Freud's pleasure-seeking instinct and Adler's will to power. The psycho-analyst has to lead the patient " through direct acquaintance with his own collective unconscious to a sense of oneness with mankind and indeed with the world " in order to make life meaningful and worth while. Amongst the propounders of Neo-Freudian psycho-

logy Karen Horney is one who concedes that Adler's "style of life" is not absolutely fixed and unchangeable and that individual is endowed with "constructive forces" that strive towards growth and development" of latent potentialities of man. It is Erich Fromm—the Humanist psychoanalyst—who transcends the hitherto considered psychoanalysts in conceiving man as a storehouse of great unconscious powers.[100] This unconscious contains the universal man, representing dark past and bright future,[101] to be fully conscious of this unconscious through affective as well as intellectual knowledge, in order to attain full freedom from one's limited ego and to reach the harmony with the entire cosmos. The psychoanalyst is to play the role similar to the Zen Buddhist Master by helping the patient disciple in "emptying himself of his selfhood." In the genuine 'Satori' experience of Zen Buddhism one is awakened to the full reality of life.[102] This is the state wherein no greed or fear or any personal passions that distort the objectivity and productivity of the "fully born" individual have any place. Both the humanist psychoanalysts and Zen Buddhists "expect that the evil desire will melt and disappear under the light and warmth of enlarged consciousness."[103] This is the remedy for the insane and alienated modern man in the so-called civilized world as also the ultimate answer to the problem of human existence that pulls him downwards and exhorts to transcend itself in the other way and thus poses a dilemma.

In his famous work "Man the Unknown" Alexis Carrel has laid stress on the unknown and undiscovered strength of human nature. Man's "potentialities are almost inexhaustible."[104] Carrel is deeply disturbed by the sway of modern western civilization wherein wealth, comfort and health are reared by scientific discoveries and individual as an indivisible whole of body, mind and consciousness is negleated[105], and hence, human society as a whole is being deteriorated. In purely nonpartisan spirit he lays

bare the facts about the nature of man and shows that hardships and high ideals develop human faculties to their full capacity.[106] Morality and religion, the urges to sacrifice and to devote whole life for sublime causes are as much facts as the bodily and mental factors revealed through physical and psychological experimentation. He knows by experience that "permanent modifications of body and consciousness may be produced by adaptation"[107] and through education, discipline and will-power.[108] Man can cultivate moral virtues and aesthetic sense that go to create real civilization of thoroughly developed individuals.[109]

All these facts and urges at least make it explicit that the Sarvodaya ideals of man and society are not unscientific vagaries based on bad psychology. It should be admitted that Sarvodaya thought and practices reveal genuine urge of awakened humanity to evolve further for the unfoldment of man's natural capacities. The picturesque Sarvodaya ideal of human society guides humanity on her onward march towards higher consciousness. Whether humanity will actually reach the stage where present conflicts and dangers will be conspicuously absent and will be replaced by love and mutual understanding or will collapse to the level of beasts, depends upon the efforts of awakened representatives of humanity who alone can awaken their fellow-brothers to the new vision of hope.

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(CHAPTER EIGHT)

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Chapter Nine

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SARVODAYA ETHICS

I. The Roots of Morality

Every metaphysical theory projects way of behaviour in actual life, though indirectly, just as all concern with the solution of practical moral problems of life suggests a metaphysical point of view. The Buddha had his metaphysics, but it receded into the background of his moral teachings. The Sarvodaya thinkers are much more clear and specially emphatic in declaring their metaphysical convictions ; but they are no less assertive in pressing their concern over moral issues. For one thing this is so because the cosmos has been credited by the Sarvodaya thinkers as the spontaneous expression of the Ultimate Metaphysical Reality. And human life is a unique phenomenon in this cosmos. Morality is a matter of relationships which weave every thread of human life. Hence, moral considerations occupy special importance in Sarvodaya thought. Secondly, in Sarvodaya, spirituality and morality become interchangeable words. To Gandhi the nature of Reality, i. e. Truth—itself has opened the way of Love or Non-violence. The end and its means are convertible terms in Sarvodaya. Thus truth and love become two sides of the coin of Life. Love reveals itself through the dealings of everyday life—it is the moral expression of spiritual understanding of Truth. The striving for spiritual liberation or Moksa has to be done not by taking resort to escapism but by meeting life fairly and squarely in ordinary activities and through moral firmness.

This throws light on the fact that Sarvodaya moral thought takes roots from metaphysical stand. Morality of individual and social life has no independent existence except on the foundation

of metaphysics.[1] The first yet final question of morality, "Why should I be moral ?" remains unanswered so long as one engages oneself with the arguments supporting self-interest—enlightened or otherwise. So long as there is a possibility that every shrewd man can find out ways and means of attaining self-interest or happiness without arousing the slightest suspicion about the morality of his behaviour, there is no need of being truly moral. Besides, even if all members of society have mutual trust and seek only enlightened self-interest, there arises the difficulty of ascertaining the meaning and scope of 'interest' or 'happiness'. These may connote various meanings and denote separate things to different individuals and thus may result the impossibility of coming to mutual agreement. Even Humanism falls short of creating a strong conviction about the 'why' of morality. To Humanism "this life is all and enough !" It makes a plea for "enhancing the spirit of cosmopolitanism", "international friendship" and "brotherhood of man."[2] But why should man befriend man if he can be happy without caring for the "welfare of all mankind ?" The Sarvodaya thinkers have, no doubt, brought spirituality from heaven to earth by emphasising the need of ideal solution of human problems, but they are not satisfied with the Humanist's rejection of all ends and values beyond the realm of human senses and reason. According to them spirituality has nothing to do with heaven and hell, but it can neither join hands with the propounders of mere empirical happiness.

Then, why should one be moral ? Jesus had asked "Love thy enemy as thyself." Friends and enemies make the whole of humanity. But why should one love humanity ? Kant had declared "It is your duty to do so". It is the categorical imperative of the Moral Law within. But what if one does not pay attention to the still small voice of conscience ? Why should 'love' be a 'duty' ? To F.H. Bradley it is the outcome of the ideal of self-realization. But our being should embrace the other beings if

true love is to dawn. There can be no love unless 'I' and 'mine' are equated and completely mingled with 'Thy' and 'Thine'. I should love my neighbour as myself because we are fundamentally one.[3] Morality is a natural phenomenon at the human level since here there is the experience of the fundamental unity of all life.

"Verily, all this is Brahman" (*sarvam khalu idam Brahma*) and "Thou art that" (*tat tvam asi*) are expressions of intuitive mystic experiences. The glimpses of such experience can be easily had if our mind is balanced and unprejudiced. Gandhi asserted: "I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives".[4] If our sensitivity is not blunted by the extraneous and superfluous hindrances of 'my' and 'mine', we could grasp the truth of the imperative demand of service of our immediate neighbour who represents the whole of life for us. Such service is a 'necessity', to put the same thing differently, simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in his creation and be one with it.[5] And realization of God is the realization of the unity of life.

This solves the problem of the incentive to goodness. In the absence of the temptation of money, honour or status, what prompts men to behave morally is his thirst of sociability and the spontaneity of love.[6] If alone, man feels no joy, but at the same time, if there is one 'other', there is reason for fear. This contradiction is resolved if that 'other' becomes 'his own'.[7] With the widening of the horizon of one's self-hood there is the growing consciousness of one's happiness. Then, naturally, the good of one's neighbour becomes the good of oneself, and this provides a sufficient incentive to goodness.

II. The Individual and the Society

Thus the basic oneness of all life[8] removes the possibility of conflict between the good of the individual and that of the society.[9]

A false opposition between the claims of individual and those of society has been created by the upholders of biased and partial theories of human life. To Sarvodaya thinkers neither the individual nor the society are independent of each other. Society lives in and through its members, and individuals are what they are, mainly because of their rearing up in particular social conditions. But the Sarvodaya thinkers acknowledge that there is an excellence (*Vibhutimatva*) in every individual which ought to be revered and given due scope for development in society. Man is an end in himself. Like Kant the Sarvodaya philosophers held that each one should think of oneself as a "member of the kingdom of ends." That is why Gandhi has said "The individual is the one supreme consideration."[10] But this is not to say that while valuing individual's development one should sacrifice the good of the society. In fact, self-interest and social-interest are fundamentally one. Though superficially and from the point of view of egoistic and selfish interest an individual stands against the society, the fundamental unity of wellbeing of the whole of humanity remains an ultimate fact.[11] That is why when one wants peaceful and healthy human life wherein every individual develops to his utmost and thereby contributes to social wellbeing, one has to emphasise not the pleasure or happiness of particular and separate individuals but their mutuality and love. The final value should be invested in the non-opposed character of their wellbeing. The whole humanity gains or loses with the one individual's success or failure. Therefore, Gandhi believes "......if one man gains spirituality, the whole world gains with him and if one falls, the whole world falls to that extent."[12]

One reason why the conflict is emphasised and strengthened is the unjustified belief in the struggle for existence. If conflict were the law of life all creation would have been extinct long ago.[13] Conflict is death.[14] Co-operation and sacrifice of one's

own interest are no less the facts of life. And it is not enough to stick to the maxim "Live and let live" which may create indifference to the wellbeing of neighbours. Society cannot survive if it follows such a principle. Sarvodaya's non-dualistic ethics asks individuals and even societies to "live in order to make others live."[15] Vinoba remarks "The *sine qua non* of Sarvodays is : all of us should learn the art of living for others."[16] The so-called conflict is based on imaginary enmity.[17] All have to enrich life through cooperation and mutual help. On the bed-rock of this mutual love does the moral ideal of Sarvodaya society stand.

The utilitarian theory of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" is nourished on the wrong concepts of the ideal of human life and the means thereto. Mill in his 'Utilitarianism' presents an obviously fallacious argument to prove pleasure as the ideal. The argument is as follows—the only things visible are things seen, the only things audible are things heard, and similarly the only things desirable are things desired. As Russel has wisely commented "He (Mill) does not notice that a thing is 'visible' if it *can* be seen, but 'desirable' if it *ought* to be desired." Thus "desirable is a word presupposing an ethical theory, we cannot infer what is desirable from what is desired."[18] The existing state of affairs can never be the measure of moral judgement.[19] But the fallacy involved in determining the ideal continues itself in imagining the possibility of summing up the pleasures of separate individuals and thus achieving the happiness of society. It is wrong to conceive of such a result unless each one consciously strives to achieve good of all.[20] To say that in practice it is impossible to achieve more than the greatest good of the largest number of human beings is no excuse for making it an ideal. Men should strive hard, and if they fail to achieve the ideal of the good of all, with vigorous self-exertion they should launch a new attempt. Failure to achieve an ideal is not defeat—either of men or of the ideal. It may ever remain unattained but never unattainable.[21] All ideologies that

erect a wall between man and man, thus creating two opposing blocks in the human world, are guilty of declaring the eternal negation of peace and happiness in the human world. If we fall a prey to the immediate happiness of ourselves, we lose the ultimate peace and contentment. If we forego our limited and piecemeal approach and embrace the all-pervading (*vyāpaka*) and far-reaching attitude, we may reach the end of strife and struggle. All-pervading selfishness is itself selflessness (*Nihsvartha*).[22]

III. The Criterion of Moral Behaviour

But there needs to be a criterion of desirability or good and right. The last limit or measure of value according to Gandhi is Truth and Non-violence. Not the scriptures, nor any authority can guide us as to what is ultimately desireable. In so far as these are in accord with Truth and Non-violence they have sanctity.[23] But what is Truth? Gandhi had to resort to the intuitive understanding of Truth or the 'inner voice'—as the final thing to fall on. But he proceeds further to check the unwarranted claim at truth or the possession of 'inner voice' by any and every one. The voice of conscience is heard only by one who has genuine urge to search truth as God and who disciplines himself rigorously by going through several vows.[24] And again "Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility."[25] Is this not arguing in a circle? Truth is that which is found to be so by inner voice, and inner voice can be authentic only if one is truthful and virtuous. But the circle is only seemingly so. Since the progressive steps on the path of realization of truth themselves become the guide in the search.

But it is possible to state the same criterion in a different way. Truth is Ultimate Reality—the spontaneous expression of which is the manifested life. Life then is the supreme value.[26] Life is one and to have experience of the oneness of life is the ideal. In the realm of morality, therefore, whatever makes us realize that oneness is good. The act that enriches life and helps to develop

individual's virtues of head and heart is the right act. Whatever creates hindrances and erects impediments in the way of such realization of oneness through the enrichment of life is bad and wrong.

In social life the rule carries itself into effect through mutual aid and cooperation. Love, therefore, becomes the life-breath of Sarvodaya society. It creates the possibility of all-sided upliftment of all the members of society. It is Sarvodaya. The present society is a platform of strife and struggle, untruth and violence. Innumerable rifts have been created due to differences in nations, sects, religions, sex, property, birth and races. These are superficial. It is the bounden duty of men with universal outlook and compassionate heart to strive to remove the man-made cages that enslave man. But does not nature itself sometimes create miseries ? They are to be mitigated through human efforts.[27] This points to the first step to bring about Sarvodaya. It is *antyodaya*—the upliftment of the last one—the downtrodden and neglected humanity crushed under human and natural tyrannies. This comes to nothing short of a complete revolution in the present society.

And true revolution is wrought by spiritual values alone. In fact, values can never be economic or political, they are and ought to be spiritual.[28] That is why values determined by profit-motive or pleasure-seeking that serve all dividing factors in society can be no real values. Spiritual value is permanent, unchangeable and uniform (*ekarupena avasthitah yah arthah sah paramarthah*).[29] It is universally applicable. The general tendency is to make an exception in one's own favour and to ask others to stick to the principle. Hence, Kant's maxim of Universality "Act only according to a maxim by which you can at the same time will that it shall become a general law."[30] Only the principle that stands the test of universality can be considered as moral. That is why we find that no vice, e.g. lying or theft, can be universal unless to get itself des-

troyed.[31] In society a lie as a lie never gets standing. It requires the mask of truth. Deception or "hypocricy is a tribute that vice pays to virtue."[32] True value needs no excuse for its presence. To be truthful and to love the whole creation are natural to many and it is only when some hindrances in the form of temptation or hate come in the way, that a lie and hatred take a chance to present themselves in the affairs of human world.[33] Every society stands on the permanent values of truth and love. For peaceful and prosperous social life in the modern age humanity needs to make these twin values its stars of guidance.

The Sarvodaya thinkers are thus the adherents of absolute moral values. Certain critics have tried to show that in the struggle for Indian national independence Gandhi's guidance displayed only relative morality.[34] They say that, in fact, Gandhi worked almost on the principle of 'end justifies the means'.[35] Some other accuse Gandhi of diluting the values and accepting compromises when necessary. It must be conceded that Gandhi required time for his full growth; and realization of human situations also requires some time. Gandhi's participation in the first world war and his rejection to uphold the cause of the second world war seem to be quite contradictory. Does this mean that to behave differently in different situations whille marching towards a goal is to fall a prey to relative morality? It is apparent that Gandhi tried his best to confine the national independence movement to the strict limits of non-violence. He had honestly and sincerely acknowledged the lapses whenever they occurred, and had expressed deep pain for them. As we have seen the Sarvodaya thinkers consider an ideal to be rarely completely approached. They have recognised human weaknesses. But the admission of human weakness is not allowance to moral relativity. Sarvodaya thinkers do not consider casuistry to be the goal of ethical science as G. E. Moore does. They rely ultimately on the purity and poise of human heart and reason. That is why, while taking the moral principles

of truth and non-violence to be absolute, they do not seem to consider it necessary to conceive of a stereotyped and fixed way of the application of these principles to the newly arising situations. Truth and non-violence need not be hard and fast patterns through which every situation has to be dealt with. Besides, Gandhi himself used to say that though in the case of fundamental values there cannot be compromises, in matters of details to be prepared to compromise is one of the requirements of Satyagraha spirit.[36]

It has been emphasised by Gandhi and others that in so far as these values are applied to the everyday problems of humanity there is hope of peace and progress for the human world. Unless the egocentrism of individuals is eliminated by replacing universality of attitudes, there can be no solution to the human problems. It is in the personality of universal man that this demand seeks its fulfilment.[37]

IV. The Discipline of Moral Life—Truth and Non-Violence

Gandhi founded a number of Aśrams in order to make them laboratories experimenting on the possibility of such a universal man, under controlled conditions. It is true that human life is too dynamic and therefore flexible and disorderly to make any kind of strictly scientific experimentation possible. But in so far as one individual can make his own life a series of experiments to realise truth, one can even start experimenting in ideal social living if some fellow-beings are prepared to cooperate in doing so. At least Gandhi made that bold attempt. To Gandhi an Aśram meant "a community of men of religion,"[38] believing in God. In real faith Gandhi writes, "If, therefore, He (God) wished to make the Aśram His instrument as regards any activity it was for Him to place the requisite men and munitions at the Aśrama's disposal. Phoenix, Tolstoy Farm and Sabarmati Aśrams have all been conducted more of less according to these principles consciously or unconsciously."[39] This heroic experiment proved

beneficial for the satyagraha movement launched for gaining equal rights in South Africa and winning Freedom of India. But its larger significance lies in turning the individual attempts to realise truth into the dynamism of social change and thus making them the instrument of spiritual revolution in the human world. The eleven moral vows thus intend to prepare individuals for the new era of love, freedom and trust.

Observance of *Truth* is not an ordinary vow to Gandhi. It occupies the central and supreme position. Truth stands first, It is the end, it is supreme and perfect.[40] For Gandhi Truth is God, since "Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth."[41] According to Vinoba, " For realisation, Truth becomes the Atma. For the sake of prayer Truth is God. And it assumes the form of Moral Law (Dharma) when it is to be observed in practice.[42] In morality lies man's dignity. And Truth is the backbone of all morality.[43] Gandhi asserted —"Devotion to Truth is the sole justification of our existence."[44] All other moral vows are to contribute to its realization.

In fact, Truth as God is itself the moral law—reigning every individual from within his heart. It is the positive uniting force in the universe. All other vows spring out of it in order to remove the hindrance in the way of the unifying experience. In social life, their observance leads to the establishing of brotherhood of humanity. Individual's striving for Brahma-realization should express itself in cooperative social striving for the realization of revolutionised new social order. Along with individual's liberation society will also step forward towards its ideal stage.

Liberation means freedom from separateness, conflict and dominance in both individual and social life. Therefore, realisation of Truth is accompanied by experience of Love. But men are not perfect. All imperfect beings have to gain in their vision of Truth in a cooperative enterprise of building an ideal society. Hence, the first discipline in social life will be non-violence or

Love in its pure sense. That is why Gandhi said that he found *non-violence* in his search for Truth.[15] For the widening of individual's vision of Truth and for peaceful, prosperous and progressive social life, mutual love and understanding are of prime necessity. These two prepare for peaceful and open-minded discussion. Gandhi spoke about the famous Sanskrt verse to express the discipline of non-violence in discussion—One should speak Truth and speak in a pleasing way (*satyam bruyat, priyam bruyat*).[16] Gandhi adds—one who speaks with violence or in an offensive way has no truth within him. This does not mean that the dose of Truth is to be diluted by mixing with it something pleasing to the ego of the other party. This is nothing but untruth. Gandhi bravely and peacefully suffered till the end of his life at the hands of the conservative and so called religious people for his attack on unjust and tyrannical customs and institutions in Hindu Society. He never mixed undue tenderness with the frank statement of Truth. He cannot be suspected of having allowed the back-door entrance to falsehood in order to please the adversary. What he seems to mean thereby is that when there is open-mindedness or unprejudiced psychological background, truth untainted by any kind of falsehood or attachment will come out in a simple and direct smoothness. He, therefore, says, "Truth being itself fully strong is insulated when an attempt is made to support it with harshness."[17] Its reception also equally presupposes the same background of unbiased and unattached outlook. This non-violent and, therefore, synthetic method of reaching Truth in social life alone guarantees peaceful, satisfactory and unanimous solution of problems.

Here also 'ought' implies 'can'. Faith in the understanding-capacity of each and every man is the basic condition of agreement by discussion. Pure thought is the expression of Truth dawned upon a particular individual, or stated in a particular religious scripture. But its validity does not depend upon the person or the

scripture concerned. That is why according to Sarvodaya thinkers pure thought can be considered as Impersonal (*apaurusеya*), and the human being has the inherent capacity to grasp it. If it is fully 'understood', the whole life of the particular individual who may have been full of untruth and ignorance, gets transformed. Naturally,action follows understanding. Then knowledge itself reveals itself through virtue. To take resort to coercion and compel others to obey the authority of any prophet or scripture or the author of any new ideology, without their willing consent, is to insult the spiritual capacity of understanding in human beings. It is the denial of the Ultimate Reality revealed through humantiy. In the realm of animals the law of the jungle may be governing. But it is because humanity is on a higher level than the birds and beasts, from the point of view of rationality or the capacity to realise the oneness of all life, that there should be a different law governing the human world. The strength and uniqueness of man lie not in his body but in his capacity to understand, in his spiritual awareness that make virtues of head and heart possible. That is why Vinoba says that the word 'Sarvodaya' indicates a pure thought[48] and an honest seeker after truth will merely explain in order that others should understand. To ask others forcibly to 'do' is to display ignorance. Sankara had said that the science of life (*sastra*) makes others understand and does not ask them to do something (*sastram tu jnapakam na tu karakam*).[49] Satyagrah—the Gandhian active weapon to make others understand—is only an ardent attempt to appeal to the heart and arouse the inner understanding of the other party through self-suffering.[50] It presupposes preparedness to understand what the other party maintains.

V. The Problem of End and Means

These considerations inevitably involve the end-and-means-discrimination. A moment's deep thought convinces one of the truth that means should be compatible to the end concerned.[51]

Both should be homogeneous so as to assure that the extreme of means is itself the end. In fact, end cannot be something to be attained all at once in a remote future. The end progressively realises itself through the means, and then at each step the means itself is turned into the end. To Gandhi end and means were convertible terms. He oftern spoke assuming this. His constructive programme, successfully carried into effect, was itself self-rule. The Upanisads have often identified the way that leads to the realisation of Brahma with the realisation itself (*Tapo Brahma iti Vyajanat*).

The end is to achieve the peaceful and blissful state of self-realisation in and through individual and social strivings. The removal of separative tendencies and conflicting superficial interests that come in the way of that realisation is the necessity. Vinoba argues that the Upanisads have declared " peaceful is the soul (*santoyam Atma*)[52]. They ask us to meditate on the symbol of Brahman—OM—which is followed by the utterance of *santi* thrice. Vinoba asks, does this not indicate that we have to attain peace by worshipping peace through the observance of peace ?[53] One cannot consistently think of reaching moral destination by means of immoral methods. Hate begets hate and violence is reinforced by violence. There can be no valid contention against the scientific truth of what the Buddha advised—Anger and evil should be won by love. One should suffer and peacefully resist through love instead of answering a blow with a blow.[54] Jesus had asked his disciples to love even their enemy.

But two different arguments are often stated against the truth involved in the contention of purity of means. A fascinating maxim states that the end justifies means. If the end is good the means may be evil. So the Marxists argued that the ultimate object is to attain self-rule, when the state—which is the source of exploitation and conflict will be no more. The means was suggested to be the widening of the rift between the two classes—

the bourgeoise and the proletariat. They maintained that the accentuation of the conflict between them would lead to the wiping out of the bourgeois class from the face of the earth. It is often stated that the peaceful way is either lengthy or ineffective. But both morality and experience equally show that the path of truth and love is the only short and the most effective way to reach beyond conflict.[55] Violence is almost invariably an expression of attachment and partiality. Aldous Huxley in his "Ends and Means" has cited many examples from history of such violent, hasty and eager attempts at success.[56]

The second argument runs as follows : There is no doubt that peace is the ideal. But it is the peace of detachment.[57] It involves fearlessness. *Sastras* and the Gita say that the art of life lies in doing actions in a detached way, while the actions may be even immoral. With the purest motive and steadfast intellect one may be required to murder or rob as a matter of duty. Even God is guided by the maxim of tit for tat. So a saint or an aspirant, in everyday life, should also imitate Him and should adopt the policy of reciprocity (*pratiyogita*).[58] Has not the Lord in the, Gita said "I shall entertain them in the manner in which people approach me ?" The only condition is that actions should be done without attachment. The philosophy of non-violence is a deceptive philosophy founded on the ignorance of the discrimination between peace and detachment.

In answer to this, Vinoba shows that the Vedas and Upanisads have often made it clear that no immoral individual can attain self-realization. The Vedas pray—May God lead us on the direct path of morality (*Rjuniti*).[59] Truth alone succeeds never falsehood (*Satyameva jayate nanrtam—Mundaka*). Self-knowledge makes man pure and innocent (*vipapo virajo bhavati*). Then the paradoxical statement in the Gita (*hatvapi no hanti*) is to be understood as the praise of ego-lessness.[60] It is the language of Sastra (science) and not of worldly business.[61] But at the same time one should

admit that all actions are impure to an extent and it is not advisable or possible to abandon all actions. Hence, the impurity that naturally, not purposefully, gets mixed with the actions of saintly person is washed off because of his self-surrender to the Lord. But this is not the justification of purposeful immoral behaviour.[62] The Gita itself maintains that the soul neither kills nor gets killed nor does It induce to murder.[63] True fearlessness is the consequence of the attainment of liberation (*abhayam vai Janaka praptosi*).[64] Liberated person is neither a matter of fear for others nor is he himself afraid of anything.[65] The doctrine of tit for tat can never be interpreted from what the Lord Krishna says in the Gita. In the world of nature this maxim may be a rule but this also means that if you approach nature in a friendly manner she cooperates with you.[66] The Lord forgives those that forgive others.[67] Hence, in order to fit oneself for the Lord's mercy one should be merciful towards all fellow beings. The behaviour of the aspirant, therefore, is not to be based on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but on that of forgiveness for insult and love for cruelty. Gandhi was informed that politics and business-life allow no entrance to saints and prophets. "Politics is a game of worldly peoples and not of *Sadhus*."[68] Gandhi asserted : "If it be true that God meets out the same measure to us that we meet out to others, it follows that if we would escape condign punishment we may not return anger for anger but gentleness as against anger. And this is the law not for the unworldly but essentially for the worldly." Hence, the true maxim of guidance is "Truth even for the crooked" (*satham pratyapi sattyam*).[69] But the Gita seems to justify war and violence. The Sarvodaya thinkers consider Mahabharata as allegorical and not historical. Gandhi says . "under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind" and "physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of internal duel more alluring."[70] On the contrary, the disastrous effects of war for both the victor and the vanquished

are clearly pictured by Vyasa.[71] The Gita is not a treatise on war tactics that lead one to military victory.[72] The pivot round which the theme of the Gita revolves is the message of the "renunciation of fruits of action."[73] This renunciation of fruits leads to knowledge and devotion which are not a media of exchange for getting either salvation or bondage—they are salvation itself...."According to Gita all acts that are incapable of being performed without attachment are taboo."[74] Then "... murder, lying, dissoluteness and the like must be regarded as sinful and therefore taboo. Man's life then becomes simple, and from that simpleness springs peace."[75] But Gandhi frankly admits, "Gita was not written to establish *ahimsa*."[76] And because the inherent contradiction between war and non-violence remained unperceived at that time, it may be granted that the Gita feels war as "consistent with renunciation of fruit."[77] But experience has shown Gandhi that "perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of *ahimsa* in every shape and form."[78]

The fact that in actual life man falls short of perfect observance of non-violence, should not be used to justify violence. Man's fall from the ideal must be regarded as a fall.[79] An eternal principle has no exception. It is our weakness that justifies itself through the search of exceptions.[80] That is why Gandhi considers it as laziness and self-deception to kill even violent animals. Of course, Gandhi's non-violence is not so naive as to augment the suffering of mad dogs or to suffer the nuisance of monkeys.[81]

Does non-violence lead to passivity and cowardice as is supposed sometimes? The Sarvodaya thought sings the praise of non-violence for its capacity to develop bravery and active resistance of evil. Passivity is the character of cowardice. Non-violence can neither inflict injustice nor can it tolerate one passively. Gandhi had asserted that love prompts one to the "highest action."[82] Cowardice displays attachment, it ranks lower than even violent action. It takes off all sense of honour. And "self-respect knows

no consideration",[83] hence, it is that Gandhi called violent resistance of the Poles to German aggression as "almost non-violent."[84] But the ideal always is to conquer with love which is the highest and true bravery.

VI. Non-stealing and Non-possession

And when there is Love, is there any possibility of stealing? The idea of otherness makes for greed and desire for enjoyment which provide the background of stealing and possessiveness. "Whoever appropriates more than the minimum that is really necessary for him is guilty of theft" according to Gandhi.[85] Vinoba emphasises the need of establishing perfect morality.[86] If stealing is sinful, why not possession which induces others to steal and which, in itself, is a form of socially approved theft, be equally a sin?[87] Hence, one should "neither take nor keep a superfluous thing."[88] But Gandhi has to concede that "Non-stealing and non-possession are mental state only. No human being can keep these observances to perfection. The body too is a possession." Therefore, the spirit of detachment is the only saviour, since physically not to possess anything is an impossibility while still living. This same spirit of detachment subsists behind the ideal of total renunciation and asks one "to use the body for the purposes of service so long as it exists."[89] If society is prompted by this idea there will be no poor persons and no thief. One should consider oneself the trustee of whatever is possessed. The first verse of the Isavasyopanisad encouraged Gandhi to put forward the theory of Trusteeship "everything must, in the first instance, be surrendered to God, and then outfit one may use, not for selfish enjoyment, but for service of God's creation according to one's strict need, and no more. One would then not covet what belongs to another.[90] One who lives as a trustee should be eager to give up the possessed property the moment it is needed by someone else in society.[91]

The role of trusteeship in the building of revolutionised society assumes two forms. There is a transitional phase wherein the rich

and the wealthy give up their individual property to bring about egalitarian social order. The second and eternal phase demands the use of all capacities of every human being rich or poor, e.g., intellectual, bodily, artistic etc., for the good of all.[92] The different facets of the Land-gift movement for non-violent social revolution cover up these two phases of trusteeship. Vinoba accepts Sankars's definition of gift (*Dana*)as equitable distribution.[93] Hence, land, money, labour, intellect and even one's own life were asked to be donated in the sacrifice for social revolution. That is why, again, not only the landlords but even the poorest possessing a tiny piece of land should identify himself with the neighbours by donating whatever he possessed. This helps him to rise a step higher towards the realisation of the Vedantic ideal of oneness. According to Sarvodaya thought, even if there is merely the distribution of poverty the change of attitude towards ownership itself brings about true revolution.

This is not to say that the revolutionised society will only indulge in distributing poverty. God comes to the land of poverty through the boon of plenty. Planning will be for plenty and the first share will go to the youngest, the weakest and the needy.[94] He is the God in the form of the poor (*Daridranarayana*). This is the message of the Biblical story—' Unto this last '. It is Sarvodaya when each gets enough yet possesses nothing as it is unnecessary to hoard. This is how the spiritual values get imbibed in everyday life. They make for essential material prosperity but work as a check on the insatiable and increasing thirst of wants. Hence, for Gandhi " voluntary reduction of wants " comes as an inevitable result of the observance of these vows.[95]

VII. Brahmacharya and the Other Vows

The *vow of Brahmacharya* or chastity does not ask only for the control of carnal desire. Brahmacharya literally means " conduct adapted to the search of Brahma, i.e., Truth. "[96] Hence, the control of all the senses is demanded. Realization of Truth necessi-

tates utter selflessness which reveals itself through universal love. In true love desire for physical enjoyment or self-gratification has no place. Perfect liberation from passion is a rare thing but one can strive to attain that stage through the observance of this vow.

Traditionally, a Brahmachari was asked to shun all contact with the other sex. But Gandhi never attached importance to such restrictions. " .. ...I do not believe in a brahmacharya which ever requires a wall of protection against the touch of the opposite sex and will fail if exposed to the least temptation ......"[97] Real protection comes only from inner purity. And if social life is to be pure and safe both the sexes should establish the value of Brahmacharya in their lives. The contact of both the sexes in everyday life is both inevitable and essential if every human being is to get full freedom of self-development and self-expression. If perfect morality is the target of revolutionised society, man and woman must be placed on a par.[98] This is the only way of realising the truth that sex-differences like other extraneous differences of nation, race, religion etc., are of no real significance from the point of view of the spiritual core of all human personalities. But at the same time woman should be safe in the present society. She is considered to be an object of lust inviting aggression. She is abused for being the " door keeper of hell ".[99] Brahmacharya teaches to look upon woman as the incarnation of the Divine Mother.[100] The institution of family has contributed to social purity and to an extent has guaranteed woman's safety. As mother, sister and daughter woman is safe. In social life this value of Motherhood can be established if man looks upon woman as the symbol of his mother and she takes him to be her son, brother or father. Such relations are not physical—they will be emotional. But they will teach to look upon human beings as ends in themselves and not the objects of desire (*Visaya*). Thus in social context brahmacharya makes man non-aggressive and woman self-dependent and secure.

Besides, marriages will then alone be true unions of souls begetting mutual reverence and love.

Gandhi asked even married couples to observe Brahmacharya. In the Satyagraha Asrama the experiment was carried on with good results. His critics called Gandhi a puritanist when he denounced artificial means to prevent progeny as immoral. The problem of growing population has been considered by economists and statisticians. Those who are all for family-planning think of human beings from the merely biological point of view, and wish to control their behaviour bringing them on the level of beasts. But it should never be forgotten that human acts are not purely on the natural level.[101] According to Vinoba the approach of the family-planning propounders is inspired by blind-compassion and that is why it is unscientific.[102] Besides the spiritual implications, there are cultural and social aspects of every act. The more the self-control the higher the cultural level and social efficiency. Human problems should be tackled from qualitative point of view and not quantitatively.

Besides Brahmacharya, the problem of population has to do with the standard of living. Poverty makes for a larger number of progeny.[103] Vinoba seeks the remedy in a society of producers and in self-restraint. This takes us to the next vow of *Bread-labour*.

It seems a unique thing to include bodily labour among the ethical vows. Vinoba shows that this vow helps one in freeing oneself from the clutches of loathsomeness or *Tamas*.[104] It helps even for the observance of Brahmacharya.[105] According to Vinoba though in the Vedic age productive labour has not emphasised as a moral vow, all were intent on observing it.[106]

In revolutionised society bodily labour or what Gandhi, following Tolstoy and Ruskin, called bread-labour should become a general necessity. Only a society of producers rises above the injustices inflicted since days of yore upon the labouring millions.

If all work, all will get time to cultivate intellect and other skills. The rise of cultural standard of the masses works as a check on growing population and makes for richness in quality.[107] Again, even scholars need exercise, then "why should it not assume the form of productive, i.e. bread labour?"[108] Gandhi believes it to be a divine law which "has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita where we are told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice here can only mean bread labour."[109] Only if labour becomes a virtue in itself and not a thing of market, that it can achieve value in human life it deserves.[110]

Control of the Palate (*asvada*) is valued as an aid to Brahmacharya. Gandhi made various experiments in cooking and changing diets to judge their effects on spiritual striving. But even this vow has a social significance. Reverence even for a child springs from the love for all creation. And to treat a guest with reverence and to give him first preference are also dictates of the same spiritual concern. To look after the needs of others first, to feed the guests and hungry and to remain even hungry if there is nothing left, can be said to be the consequence of this vow.[111] Its larger significance becomes explicit when even production in farms and factories gets controlled by the needs of the society.[112]

Fearlessness is the fruit of self-realization, but in its absence neither truth nor non-viloence can be pursued. Hence it has been given the pride of position in the Gita.[113] And the battle with the army of demonic vices will be lost if humility is not wide awake protecting the army of virtues from behind. Thus fearlessness and humility are the twin important qualifications necessary for self-realization.[114] But paradoxically it has to be admitted that no virtue is perfect unless it is radiated from the state of liberation itself. Individual's fearlessness makes for social progress. In a fear-ridden atmosphere no freedom can breathe and no mutual trust which is the source of mutual love and understanding can exist. It was this fearlessness that was taught by Gandhi, to the Satyagrahis.

If one boldly refuses to obey an unjust law backed by murderous weapons even at the cost of life, reputation and honour, there is no power in the world that can enslave that individual.[115] And humility makes for polite acceptance of what is revealed to be just and true. These two, therefore, ensure everyone's development along with the achievement of a higher social truth in the form of justice and equality.

VIII. Reverence for All Faiths

For Gandhi reverence for men implies reverence for their different ways of living and their faiths. The path of one, who seeks to realise oneness of all life and creation, is diametrically opposed to fanaticism. And tolerance of other's faiths and paths should not mean indifference to them or looking upon them as inferior to one's own.[116] All human efforts to reach the ideal are characterised by imperfection. And if all are imperfect there is no question of "comparative merit".[117] Therefore, "*ahimsa* teaches us to entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as we accord to our own.[118] And reverence makes it imperative to assimilate what is good and true in other faiths. And at the same time defects and irreligion in every faith should be categorically discarded, since these alone make for blind worship of authority and fanaticism. Emphasis on rituals and indifference to morality make religions "like 'sounding brass' good only for making a noise and breaking heads".[119] All the so-called crusades or Jihads—or the attempts to protect or spread religion with the strength of sword—have betrayed the religion of truth and love. This perfect religion is One and 'beyond all speech'.[120] Imperfect men interpret it in different but imperfect ways thus giving rise to many religions. But it was Gandhi's experience that truly religious men, belonging to different faiths, do not quarrel for symbols or names.[121] This proves the fundamental unity of all religions. Hence, all religions are true though imperfect. Gandhi's was an attempt to unite people by convincing them of the unity and reliability of all faiths

which was experimentally proved by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa in his own life.[122]

And it was with the view to purify his own Hindu Religion that Gandhi declared : " Untouchability is not only not a part and parcel of Hinduism, but a plague, which it is the bounden duty of every Hindu to combat. "[123] " None can be born untouchable ."[124] To consider so is to support " rank irreligion fit only to be destroyed." [125] Thus Gandhi welcomes inter-caste marriage particularly those between *Savarna* and untouchables and opened temples for them. At least those who belong to the same faith should not be refused entrance in the place of prayer and worship.

But the vow is not called (though in English it is translated as) *Removal of Untouchability*. It is positively stated as *Sparsa Bhavana*—or to welcome the touch of others valuing it as pure and auspicious. And then the vow does not remain confined only to the down-trodden millions bordering on the state of slavery.[126] Then "Removal of Untouchability spells the breaking down of the barriers between man and man and between the various orders of Being ". It embraces in its love all life.[127]

In order to unite people and give them a positive content that would bind them spiritually together, Gandhi introduced the practice of congregational prayers. Prayer is spiritually essential for individuals not only separately but also collectively. " For one who accepts the brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God, should find a congregation wherever he goes. "[128] It " is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship. "[129] The prayer consisted of singing and chanting of God's names and some portions from scriptures of different religions. But the prayer ought to be " an echo of the inner unison. "[130] For this Vinoba has introduced silent prayer (*Mauna-prarthana*). He asks to meditate on Truth, Love and Compassion. This involves no reference to any particular name of God and suggests a meaning that favours one and all devotees belonging to different religions.

IX. The Universal Religion of Man

This points to the way of actual unification of all religions. It remains an eternal truth that there will be various ways according to the needs and temperaments of different individuals leading to the same Reality. But what constitutes the truth of any particular religion provides the foundation equally for universal religion. The Universal Religion will unite all humanity and establish friendship with the whole of creation. Naturally, all exclusive sects, all religious institutions banning a section of humanity and each and every movement creating a gulf between man and man should be marked as irreligion.[131] That is why conversion and proselytization can have no place in this universal religion.[132] Since spirituality is the core of it no external rituals and particular way of life can characterise it. Consequently, it shows no interest in multiplying its members.[133] In fact, no institution nor any book can catch hold of it. It stands to unite entire humanity and pervades all spheres of life.[134]

Vinoba gives the basic requirements of this new Religion of Man. The Religion of Man should be integral. It should not be partial to man as against woman, partial to whites or to the touchables, partial to the rich and the talented.[135] The unity of man through equality should be its motto. But it should not promote blind adherence to mathematical equality. Spiritual oneness should give birth to the psychological understanding of unity and inspire to eradicate the man-made injustices and inequalities and to reduce the intensity of natural inequalities in society. Though physical needs and capacities will determine the equalitarian distribution, these minor differences will not vitiate the unity of humanity. The integrity of Universal Religion necessitates the application of universal morality equally to all human life, social as well as individual. It should pave the way to the spiritual revolution in human society.

According to Vinoba the foundation of this religion in the form of faith in God has been provided by the different religions, e.g., Christianity, Islam, Hindu, Parsi and others. But they have all failed to build the superstructure. The Hindu religious literature speaks of God coming again and again to the earth to eradicate irreligion. And still we find the world full of cruelty, injustice and disbelief. Vinoba jokingly remarks that this is an indication of God's failure to establish true religion. But now the favourable condition has been created by the modern scientific age.[136] Science has made clear the contradictions of human life. "On the one hand, man talks of exploring the moon and on the other he schemes to encroach upon a square foot of land. . . . . This breeds jealousy and dissensions, leading to war.[137] Vinoba asks the question that knocks at the door of every thinking mind—"would men survive under such circumstances ?"[138] Science, on the one hand, helps the cause of religion by bringing men together, and on the other hand, it threatens the very existence of human world by producing the deadly atomic weapons of destruction.[139] Hence, the urgency to establish the new religion of 'love and cooperation' which "can usher in the kingdom of Heaven upon earth."[140]

But "if religion is to be re-established, it must be made to rest on the support of scientific thought."[141] It has to be emphasised that religion has nothing to do with the facts of nature and the scientists like Galileo should be free to arrive at objective truths about nature. The ideas of heaven and hell should not be the incentives to virtue but the direct and immediate consequences and the intrinsic worth of goodness alone should be placed before men. The universal religion should be scientific Religion.[142]

All are witness to the destructive turn science has taken in the modern age. The ideas of conquering the universe and owning the wealth looted by cunning manoeuvres through the use of scientific inventions are the dominating aspirations of the modern man of politics. Universal science has found itself captured in the claws

of nationalism, racialism and contesting ideologies.[143] If it has to free itself and serve humanity for which it has been born, it has to adopt the outlook of universal religion, that is to say, of spirituality towards the whole of life. Unless science approaches Nature with reverence and clarifies her mysteries only to understand her, and allows man to use her resources according to his urgent needs alone, there will be no peace on earth.[144] The ever increasing wants of modern man and the ruinous competition for tyrannical domination over humanity between nations and nations are the obvious consequences of the absence of true religion. The need is for religious science.[145] Vinoba expresses this by saying that Vedanta (unitive knowledge) and Vijnana (science) should come together to effect peace and prosperity for humanity. In the absence of mutual trust, there will be mere names of brotherhood and unity. Hence, Visvasa (faith) should come to join hands with these too.[146] They together will revolutionise man's mind and the institutional set up of social dealings, thus shaping the universal Man loyal to the universe as a whole.[147]

Rabindranath Tagore has also spoken about 'The Religion of Man'. His man of religion " must exist for Man the great, and must express him in disinterested works, in science and philosophy, in literature and arts, in service and worship. "[148] This is his religion, which is working in the heart of all his religions in various names and forms.[149] This is so, because "on the surface of our being we have the ever-changing phases of the individual self, but in the depth there dwells the Eternal Spirit of human unity beyond our direct knowledge.[150] That is why Tagore's " Religion consists in the endeavour of men to cultivate and express those qualities which are inherent in the nature of Man the Eternal and to have faith in him. "[151] Truth, freedom and beauty are the qualities of this Eternal Man. Like the Baul Singers of Bengal, to Tagore also 'truth is in unity, and therefore freedom is in its realization.[152] That is why the history of the growth of freedom is the history of the

perfection of human relationship.[153] And human freedom can be attained through the cultivation of mutual understanding and co-operation.[154] But Tagore's religion has a definitive characteristic—" As Science is the liberation of our knowledge in the universal reason, religion is the liberation of our individual personality in the universal person who is human all the same."[155] It seems that Tagore has limited the sphere of his religion to the 'farthest limit of humanity itself'.[156] He has not attempted to unite the Absolute spiritual Reality of the whole of existence with the spiritual unity of humanity. His religion, therefore, has its significance in this phenomenal world comprehended by our human self.[157] That is why while talking to Einstein he admitted, " if there be some truth which has no sensuous or rational relation to the human mind it will ever remain as nothing so long as we remain human beings".[158]

Is the Universal Religion of Sarvodaya one more addition to the present-day living religions of man-kind ? As Gandhi was against any kind of 'Gandhism', so also Vinoba and others seem to be quite opposed to found any new sect. That is why no special institution for the spread of this Universal Religion has been founded by them. What they appear to point out is the urgency of emphasising the universal values and similar characteristics of all religions for the sake of the unity of all humanity. And for this very reason they speak of the dire necessity of 'religious Science'. In fact, science can neither be 'religious' nor 'irreligious'. It is amoral. But the man working in the field of science should be a 'whole' man, if science is to proceed on the path of the wellbeing of all. And in this sense science should bear the imprint of the spiritual outlook of the scientist. For the Sarvodaya thinkers a man may work in any and every sphere of life, he should be a universal man.

Contemplating the good of the whole humanity this universal man of Sarvodaya may be found engrossed in working even in a village community.[159] For the sake of the material development of the community he will be observing the vow of Swadesi.

Self-sufficiency in material needs for small manageable communities is a desirable thing from the point of view of man's development and economic safety. But neither Gandhi nor Vinoba is the advocate of exclusive self-sufficiency.[160] Inter-dependernce of different groups is not only inevitable but beneficial for cultural and spiritual purposes. In actuality man is required to be universal in thinking and specific in service.

X. Svadharma

But what determines the particular service of man ? The concept of *Svadharma* comes to our help. *Svadharma*, according to Vinoba, is constituted by individual's unique qualities, special knowledge and his particular duty determined by his position in the society in which he is born.[161] Svadharma is unavoidable. There can be no choice about it. It comes as naturally with our being as the colour of our skin. This is *Varna* in its true sense. The circumstances that control our Svadharma are pre-ordained for us and perhaps by us. Vinoba compares Svadharma with one's mother. And one must be loyal to it as one should be to one's wife, according to Gandhi. If one avoids temptations of some alluring, good looking and honourable duty, and hugs the natural, though dishonourable one, one takes oneself to high spiritual destination. Besides, our senses have a certain power in them. If we suppress them there is a danger of their volcanic upsurge. It is Svadharma that gives scope to their proper exercise.[162] And again society exists only because people do their respective duties. That is why Dharma has been defined as that which protects and nourishes society (*dharanat dharma ityahuh*).[163] From bodily maintenance up to the rearing of a particular culture everything that is demanded by an ideal social order depends on the performance of duties by people. To do duties is to make sacrifice (*Yajña*) for the working of society. According to Vinoba Sarvodaya is a creed of those who emphasise duties instead of rights.[164] Rights follow duties as inevitably as fruits follow flowers. Observance

of Svadharma brings spiritual liberation to individual and material wellbeing to society.

But actions in themselves have no capacity to free man from the bondage of the three strings—sattva, rajas and tamas. All actions bear their stamp.[165] But at the same time living itself presupposes acting. The way out of this dilemma is suggested by the Gita. Action will be the purifying agent if it is accompanied by continuity (*Satatya—Om*) aloofness (*aliptata-Tat*) and illuminating purity (*Sattvikata-Sat*).[166] Gandhi spoke of the "matchless remedy" that the Gita has suggested. It is the "renunciation of fruits of action". This is "dedicating all activities to God, i. e. by surrendering oneself to Him body and soul."[167]

This consideration removes the justifiability of all vicious and rash action (*Tamasika and Rajasika*). Such action thrive because of desires and demands (*Kamya Karma*). Hence, according to Vinoba, the moment we apply the universal criterion of renunciation of fruits of action, these totally collapse to ground (*Svarupatah tyaga*).[168] The Sattvika or pure and beneficial actions alone should be performed renouncing their fruits.[169] And the pure actions that naturally present themselves to individuals should alone be performed. They become one's special duty. It is the more or less unalterable part of Svadharma. There is a second and changing aspect of Svadharma. The individual passes through four stages in his life according to the Hindu view of life. As a student (*Brahmachari*) he prepares to come out of himself, as a house-holder (*Grahastha*) he looks after the members of his family and society, as a person retired from family (*Vanaprastha*) he engages himself fully in social works and lastly as a recluse (*Sanyasi*) he identifies himself with the universe. This emotional identification with the whole universe makes him feel responsible for the sins of all humanity. For himself he does nothing, his services bring good to all creation, but all good and evil actions of all are as if performed by him. And his spiritual understanding makes

him aware that he is at the same time beyond all sense of sin or virtue. This stage is beyond morality.[170] Morality presupposes duality of good and evil, truth and falsity. Morality has its meaning only in contrast with immorality. The state of ideal human being cannot be conceived through such dualities. Morality becomes only a stepping-stone to this spiritual liberation.

The liberated person is truly free from the psycho-logical conflict of choice experienced by all the aspirants of spiritual life. Many a time the aspirants find themselves on the horns of a moral dilemma that endangers their peace of mind. And their capacity to choose has been considered to be the freedom of will that characterises human being. This makes man responsible for his actions. The law of *karma* and the doctrine of Rebirth emphasise this truth. These have been given due recognition by the philosophers of Sarvodaya. Gandhi's firm belief that " not a blade of grass grows or moves without His will " sounds like divine determinism. But he believes in free-will, which, of course, " is less than that of passenger on a crowded deck ".[171] This is because the cards have been given to us, or rather, are predetermined by our actions in previous births.[172] But whatever freedom we possess, it proves " that man is the maker of his own destiny in the sense that he has freedom of choice as to the manner in which he uses that freedom ".[173] If he uses that freedom in surrendering his will to God he becomes truly free. In other words, Vinoba says—True freedom of desire comes only at the and of all desires. Freedom of will is, in fact, Freedom from self-will.[174] This state is not lawless, it is beyond the reign of law (*Sasanamukti*). Even the aspiration for liberation vanishes at this stage. And then even the idea of duty vanishes.[175] He is the ideal man performing all his duties and showing his love for the good of all. But he does this without obeying any moral law, without using his discriminating and comparing intellect. The moral law springs spontaneously from his being and takes shape through his all-moral and religious life.

XI. Spirituality : The Womb of Revolution

This is the target of morality. But this stage is rarely reached. The aspirant is guided by his own Svadharma that asks him to devote himself body and soul to the service of his fellow-beings. But does not the concept of Svadharma strengthen the case for *status quo* ? In sarvodaya conservatism or blind adherence to tradition finds no place. In fact, it is the womb of spiritual revolution that brings about the panorama of social, economic and political revolutions. Like individuals, communities may never be perfect. It is their imperfection that demands revolution, and it is very likely that individual's uniqueness and his vision of truth would take society a step forward towards the ideal social order. As we have seen, the ideal for society according to Sarvodaya is " enlightened anarchy." Starting with the spiritualization of politics, individuals, pure at heart and endowed with enlightened intellect, can progressively eliminate authoritative politics altogether.[176]

And it is here that the Sarvodaya thought stands in contrast with F.H. Bradley's ethical views. The concept of " My station and its Duties ", has much in common with the concept of Svadharma. The Gita precept runs as follows " .. better is death in the discharge of one's duty, another's duty is fraught with danger. "[177] Even to Bradley the soul of the individual is saturated by the universal life around him that decides his duty. " .if he thrusts it from him, he tears his own vitals; if he attacks it, he sets his weapon against his own heart. "[178] But in his attempt to fill the empty universal of Kant's Moral Law he binds the individual with details of duty, and leaves no chance for revolt against the socially approved morality. For him society is an organism of which individuals are organs, Individuals find their fulfilment by obeying the state-laws and following the sanctions of traditionally revered institutions. According to Bradley the fundamental unity of individual and society " speaks its universal language in the usages and laws of his (individual's) people. "[179]

As a moral person, the individual can function only as an organ of the moral organism represented by his community. And then "to wish to be better than the world is to be already on the threshold of immorality."[180]

This then becomes the philosophy of those who crush the innovators, reformers and so-called heretics in the name of security, morality and religion. When there is state-approved religion or ideology their protection by the military and the law courts inevitably follow. This situation culminates in the negation of freedom of thought and behaviour. Human history is replete with the tyrannical rulers and emperors. But history also shows that reforms have been brought to humanity by the so-called heretics or propounders of so-called obnoxious opinion who thereby contribute to human advancement. The Sarvodaya thinkers believe that truth alone prevails and needs no extraneous protection. True thought succeeds in spite of its suppression. In Sarvodaya society no walls will be erected to escape from new thoughts.[181] Freedom of thought which means freedom to think differently is the back bone of free society. And when an individual sees injustice and oppression in his social system, it becomes his duty to revolt.

But what if some so-called revolutionists and iconoclasts engage in anti-social and violent activities ? Besides, there are criminal tendencies in many individuals. Are we to punish them or set them free to poison the peaceful and secure atmosphere in society ? Do the Sarvodaya thinkers shut their eyes against this seed of misery granting that in the ideal society there will be no crime ? Gandhi says that in the ideal society there may be crime but no criminals.[182] Resistance to crime and removal of its causes should be the primary concern of those who seek to actualise the ideal social order. But this resistance does not take the form of retributive punishment. In fact, no moral theory supports individual's right to punish the wrong doer, but common morality

does justify society in punishing criminals and gives sanctity even to the ghastly capital punishment.

The utilitarian manages to utilise punishment as a deterrent for preventing the people from imitating the criminal. Apart from the consideration that such deterrents seldom succeed in checking criminal tendencies, the preventive theory is objectionable for its sanction to use human beings though criminals as means for the welfare of society. But punishment is also justified by those who consider themselves as infallible judges and as sole authority to vindicate the honour of the moral law. The Sarvodaya thinkers, in true democratic spirit, refuse to admit such infallibility of any human being or even social institutions. Hence; the moral unjustifiability of all punishment.

It is the faith that there is none so hopeless and incorrigible as to invite banishment and punishment that demands the replacement of punishment by reformation. Both insanity and unjust social system make for criminals. Like Spinoza the Sarvodaya philosophers consider criminals to be mentally diseased persons needing reformative treatment. Mostly thieves and even murderers are victims of tyrannical social systems and sometimes of abnormal and curious situations in human life. Such victims should become the objects of pity and compassion. If the moral man is to identify himself with the whole of life, he has to forgive the criminal[183] and should feel responsible for his crime, since he indirectly supports the prevalent social system. As an atonement he will do his best to reform him. And as a fundamental cure what he should do is to combat the system by bringing psychological change in man and revolution in social order.[184] Peterim Sorokin[185] has shown how despots, judges and those carrying huge responsibilities in history display mental derangement. In his " Reflections on Hanging " Sir Arthur Koestler reveals the inhumanity of criminal law in treating and punishing the victims of abnormal situations.[186] Criminal tendencies are a symptom of

the deep disease of present inequality and injustice in society and indifference and arrogance of those who hold power.

The Sarvodaya thinkers point out that the remedy lies in education. The evils of social system, the malady of militarism and abnormalities of individual cases are the consequences of deep-rooted indifference to spirituality. Faith in education that builds individual's character which is the sole foundation of ideal social order should restore the balance of the human world. Faith in education is faith in man. None is evil by nature. Gandhi said " if we succeed in building the character of the individual, society will take care of itself. I would be quite willing to trust the organisation of society to individuals so developed".[187] And true education brings spiritual salvation (*sa vidya ya vimuktaye*). It is free from all dogma, all fanaticism and authoritarianism. It alone will prepare for the reign of Truth and Love. Individuals trained under it will actively resist evil and peacefully build the new world. In the following chapter we shall undestand the nature of Satyagraha as the path of love that prepares for revolution through education.

Reference

(CHAPTER NINE)

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Chapter Ten

THE PATH OF LOVE

I. The Psychological Revolution through Education

The enigma of man-made misfortune seems to be the crux of the present-day human problem. Piritim Sorokin in his 'Reconstruction of Humanity' has painted the problem before humanity in a colourful and vivid manner : "Bleeding from war wounds and frightened by the atomic Frankensteins of destruction, humanity is despartately looking for a way out of the death trap."[1] We find that the major human values of freedom and peace are at stake in the strife and tussle between nations and nations. In the panicky atmosphere understanding and co-operation have been lost sight of in the international relations as also in the national fields. Many genuine thinkers and leaders of human world are, naturally, engrossed in seeking ways and means, at least, to mitigate the scope of the colossal danger.

We have seen that the Sarvodaya thinkers are working in a characteristic way to resolve the present-day problems in India. Indirectly they suggest a way out of the present world situation. From Gandhi upto the present Sarvodaya leaders the line of action adopted by them is to take up some urgent issue in society and create a social dynamism through peaceful revolutionary movement to eradicate evil in individuals and institutions. The spiritual values of Truth and Love have been the fundamentals of their revolutionary action for political, social, economic and cultural transformation. While dealing with these issues the Sarvodaya thinkers, nevertheless, point to the centre of any and every human problem. It is the mind of individual human being that plays in various ways and creates catastrophic miseries. The fundamental cure of all human problems lies, therefore, in the transfor-

mation of the human mind. With the revolutionary change in the psychological world, desirable change in the context of human relationships necessarily follows. For such an intergal and total revolution neither the state nor the law would be of much help. The technique of such revolution, according to Sarvodaya thinkers, works through educational process.[2]

What is the function of education? Can education create something that does not exist at all? The etymological meaning of the word 'education' itself shows that it is a process of drawing out what is already there. The function of education is, therefore, to remove the obstacles in the way to the spontaneous and healthy working of human body and mind. Sarvodaya thinkers consider that the role of education is purificatory (*Jivana Suddhi*).[3] That is why it leads to spiritual salvation.[4] On the other hand, it helps to effect the canalization of mind's energies for co-operation and mutual understanding in society. True edcuation, therefore, works for richness in every aspect of life (*Jivana Samrddhi*).[5]

In the language of Sarvodaya metaphysics the realization of the fundamental spiritual unity of life is the final consummation of human life. According to them love is the spontaneous expression of such unity and it alone sustains the world. Truth and love are not for them theoretical assumptions but realities of genuine experience which can be had even by the commonest of men if the impediments in the way of their natural expression are weeded out through education. Sarvodaya thinkers strive to build a new human world on the foundation of the consciousness of this fundamental unitive Reality revealing itself through love. This love urges to understand and embrace the diversities of life and to rise above them. They maintain that when social life is dominated by love through and through and not by extraneous compulsory regulations, the separative tendencies and competitive inclinations will melt away. Education for love and understanding is the way to such an ideal state of human affairs.

Love has its own discipline and order. If from a heap of corn a handful is taken out, only a few individual seeds jump to compensate the dearth. Vinoba says that love is like water. If a bucketful of water is taken from a well, drops from all directions run to keep the level same.[6] Inequalities and injustices, hatred and competition have no place in the realm of love. Love burns itself, not others. It forgets and forgives, suffers and saves.[7] Envy and enmity are words not to be found in the dictionary of love. Only the gleanings of such love have made for human survival up to the present age.[8] If the human race is to survive, nobility and grandeur of human love should be allowed to develop. According to Vinoba violence has lost all its survival value. In the thermo-nuclear age only non-violent bravery can cope with the present human situation.[9] If violence is working on a universal scale, it is urgent that the forces of love should cross the boundaries of individual and family life, even of national and racial distinctions and should rise to the cosmic heights to embrace the universe.[10] It is the new education for life as a whole that can bring integrity and harmony of life through scientific and synthetic approach to the spiritual problem of man.

II. Learning and Living

Education does not work in a vacuum. There should be no bifurcation of human life—one part devoted to learning and the other spent in living. Learning and living should walk hand in hand. The Sarvodaya thinkers, therefore, emphasise that from childhood till youth, education should not build character and develop intellect, but it should equip the individual with some art or craft so that he may contribute both to the smooth moving and good maintenance of the wheel of social life. In his scheme of Basic Education Gandhi had tried spinning and gardening as the central crafts round which the whole of educational curriculum was arranged. The scheme was thought out on those lines because every educational scheme has to take note of the needs and requi-

rements of the society to which it is to be applied. Gandhian scheme was intended to fit well only in the social order consisting of small commmunities mostly self-sufficient in primary needs. Such communities have to become agro-centric aided by cottage and small-scale industries making full use of available manpower. It is not against the higher standard of living, but it is essentially incompatible with the demands of insatiable and ever increasing wants. Such communities can be highly cultured wherein human originality and skill can contribute to beauty and variety of things.

Even such an educational scheme will have to adjust itself to the requirements of the different stratas in a society and will have to work for a homogeneous social order in the long run.

Though the vehicle of education would thus differ from society to society to a certain extent, it is evident that the core of education—the values and attitudes that it would promote—will remain everywhere the same. Chief educationsits today stand for democracy and peace. Bertrand Russel, for instance, regards that the four virtues of character—Vitality, Courage, Sensitivity and Intelligence—should be cultivated in modern age.[11] These will prepare for freedom, consideration and cooperation. Gandhi had said that his scheme of education prepares for non-violent, non-exploitative social order. We have discussed the whole panorama of virtues[12] that are to be cultivated according to Sarvodaya if a new freedom and peace-loving social order is to be erected.

What measures should be taken to create and maintain discipline while implementing such an educational scheme ? Russel says that modern educationists have made the process of discipline natural. "The fundamental idea is simple : that the right discipline consists not in external compulsion but in habits of mind which lead spontaneously to desirable rather than undesirable activities."[13] Gandhi was categorically against corporal punishment.

If teachers have love, understanding and discipline, students naturally follow the suit. Vinoba says that so long as there is the rod of punishment in schools, violence will be working havoc in society. It has been pointed out that young ones should be taught through play. For the sake of discipline also education through a craft is helpful. From the point of view of educational theory education through 'doing' has been understood to be an advancement over previous eduacational theories.[14] John Dewey in America was the foremost propounder of this advancement.[15] It has been shown that Gandhi has gone a step further in presenting the idea of self-sufficiency of educational institutions.[16] It is true that many educationists in the conference that Gandhi had invited, were against the self-sufficiency aspect of Basic Education.[17] But from the democratic pint of view self-sufficiency or independence from all sort of external authority is an essential requirement of educational institutions. Again India is a poor country. It was natural for a national leader like Gandhi to think in terms of the majority of the population and to provide for the education for all at the least expenditure. But it is certain that Dewey's experiments were declared to be not so very successful.[18] And Gandhi's scheme has not been given a fair play even after independence. Gandhi had said, "I do not wish that my schemes should be carried out by those who have neither faith nor confidence in it."[19] But his scheme has been implemented half-heartedly due to the divided attraction towards both the ways of life—one suggested by Gandhi and the other implied in the rapid and colossal industrialization on the lines of the Eurpocan countries. We cannot, therefore, assess the success or failure of Gandhian educational scheme.

Whatever the details of the educational system in democratic countries, it is certain that education on new lines for peace, freedom and cooperation is a necessity of the present age. It is worth while to consider how the well known thinker J. Krishnamurti has also emphasised the role of education as the only means of the radical

transformation of human mind for the total development of his personality.[20] He sees the miseries of the human world arising out of competition, comparison, compulsion and coercion. Neither for discipline nor for excellence any of these should be employed in educational institutions according to him. In the absence of comparison "The fullest capacity of the gardener is the same as the fullest capacity of the scientist."[21] Love and sensitiveness, absence of fear (or freedom) and development of intelligence (or the capacity to deal with life as a whole)—are to be the content of education according to Krishnamurti.[22] "A generation educated in this manner will be free of acquisitiveness and fear, the psychological inheritance of their parents and of the society in which they are born."[23] Such a generation will create the new society.

Can such an educational movement be confined to the sphere of educational institutions alone? The Sarvodaya thinkers carry the educational process on double lines. On the one hand, they intend to educate the new generation through educational institutions. On the other hand, they try to educate the people at large through nation-wide movements and campaigns in order to improve their lot through the process of eradication of the evils in social life. They thus sow the seeds of integral revolution. Satyagraha in various shapes and forms reveals the nature of this second process of education. Dhirendra Mazumdar has pointed out that in the age of science and democracy when each and every adult—along with the growing new generation—requires to be educated, education cannot or should not remain confined to the old institutions and patterns. It needs to come out of the spheres of institutions to work on each and every level of human relationship in society.[24] Thus only the non-exploitative casteless, classless and culturally homogeneous society can come into being.

III. Place of Art and Beauty in Sarvodaya

Gandhi's was the life of simplicity and austerity. The Ashram life was also characterised by rigour and discipline. Did he intend

to shape the society on similar lines? In other words, is the Sarvodaya way of life a justification of a social order of ascetics and recluses, of grimfaced, dry and unromantic disciplinarians devoid of the experience of joy and warmth of life? And it must be conceded that in ideal human society art and beauty, literature and sculpture should find the pride of place. No attempt to do away with the innocent enjoyment of art and reverent worship of beauty can hope to create an ideal social order. Not only puritan Cromwell and fanatical Aurangzeb but even the artist Plato wished to ban art and poetry. But they are nowhere praised for that merit. At the same time it is true that so far as it is possible, play should be mingled with work, and enjoyment should be friend of restraint and decency. Devotion to art and worship of beauty should not be indifferent to life. In fact, they spring from the love of life. Creative art and uplifting literature are valuable and unique specialities of man. They deserve attention, full scope and necessary nourishment. It is one thing to adore art for art's sake and quite another to recognise art as an end in itself. If education is to build a higher culture, sublime art and normal grandeur both equally deserve honour in the educational scheme of life. If Gandhi preaches simplicity, it is not devoid of beauty. If he seems to be all for asceticism, his concentration on the denial of self has a deep significance, besides being a temperamental speciality. Answering Tagore he said—" The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. . . It is an indescribable painful state which has to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one poem—invigorating food. "[25] It is again for this very reason that to Vinoba the most beautiful spots in Kashmir were the most ugly ones.[26] If all life is pathos, no artist can enjoy it. Hence the Sarvodaya thinkers' emphasis on useful arts and crafts, and on a social order that suits them best.

But if a particular condition of human society decides one's attitude towards the issues of intrinsic values like beauty and art, the Sarvodaya philosophers can be accused of suggesting partial treatment of these issues arising out of a reaction to that human situation. Some Sarvodaya thinkers came forward to rescue their ideology from such a blot. They positively acknowledge the place and value of art and literature in the ideal society.[27] Particularly noteworthy is the contribution of Kaka Kalelkar. He speaks of the necessity of uplifting the status of different arts along with the upliftment of society.[28] He has rightly recognised that true beauty and art are not against spiritual values of life. Art in ideal society should promote the appreciation of innocent beauty and pure and highly cultured play. Art and lowly enjoyment are different from and even opposed to each other.[29] Art expresses itself not merely through literature, music and paintings, its nobility is revealed even through the ways and manners of everyday living. But art to be art need not be necessarily 'useless'. It can help to beautify the necessary productive crafts in the Sarvodaya social order.

IV. Revolution and the Pattern of Social Life

But do the Sarvodaya thinkers suggest a fixed pattern of social living ? It is good to emphasise—and the Sarvodaya thinkers do often concede—that no fixed pattern of social order should be designed as the ideal one.[30] Change is the law of life. What a particular people at a particular time build as its ideal communal life and as one avoiding all tyranny, exploitation and slavery, may in future prove to be a trap to destroy freedom and brotherhood. If life becomes stagnant human imperfection often poisons it. Like a river even social life keeps itself pure by necessary speed in change,[31] that is why revolution in this sense is a perpetual necessity and needs ever vigilant people. Even different people at one and the same time may design their communities in different ways according to their circumstances and necessities.[32] Only the lamp of Love

should be kept burning. It is again for education to develop a detached outlook towards the adopted pattern of society.

It is laziness and reluctance to think for oneself that induce men to stick to the obsolete forms of social institutions. But new institutions have the same danger of paving a new road for authoritarianism and conservatism. To paint out a definite way and ask one's devotees or co-workers to lead it, though only after full conviction, many times comes to mean founding a new sect and creating a new kind of ritualism. This only amounts to developing antagonistic and dividing tendencies in society. There is thus a grave danger in establishing revolutionary social order through evolving new organizations and institutions since they themselves can mar the true spirit of revolution and be a symbol of vested interest and corruption. Gandhi had a knack of dissolving the institutions and organizations nurtured by him when they had played their role and proved to be the hindrance to the cause for which they stood. The Sabarmati Ashram and the Gandhi Seva-Sangh were thus dissolved by him. And it is for this very reason that he thought of dissolving the Indian National Congress as a political organization.

Democracy loses its worth if authority, leadership, and any particular ideology or maxims are adorned at the cost of free thinking, liveliness and originality. It was Gandhi again who disliked the title—Mahatma—reverently attached to his name by the people. He was all out to condemn those who would have liked to make him an unfailing authority.[33] His advice to students was to study all isms and not to accept any at least prematurely. The ideal should be to rise above all isms, welcome life without any reservations and move with it.[34]

Vinoba too is cautious enough to emphasise the temporary character[35] of and the need for detached outlook towards the organizations formed during the Bhoodan-Yajna-Movement, e.g., *Sarvodaya-patra*, *Shanti-sena*, *Lok-sewak* etc. About the old orga-

nizations formed during the struggle for independence he frankly remarks—" Our organizations have become totally parched and sapless and devoid of liveliness."[36] In order to make the revolution truly a people's revolution he made it, what he called—*Tantra-mukta*[37]—free of any strict adherence to external strings. Hence, the monetary assistance from centralised funds was refused after 1957.

V. Revolutionary Thought—the Centre of True Revolution

But the true merit of the Gandhian or the Bhoodan revolutionary attempts consits in this that in spite of there being concrete issues at stake, the Sarvodaya thinkers always emphasise the thought behind the revolution. Gandhi's primary concern was to make India politically free through the initiative and strength of the people themselves and thus to build a new Indian Society free from all injustices and inequalities. The same ideal inspired Sarvodaya thinkers after Gandhi, and Vinoba, along with his co-workers, started his walking-tours to move the wheel of righteousness[38] (*Dharmachakra Pravartana*) for the economic and social revolution. Such political, economic and social revolutions are not solitary events of their kind in the world. Almost all nations have to pass through the travail and suffer the pangs of perpetual revolutions. The uniqueness of the Indian revolution lies in this that the emphasis has been always on means and not on ends. The reason is the Indian revolutionaries conceive the means "as end in embryo"[39] Dr. Bondurant rightly acknowledges the merit of evolving constructive way of meeting conflicting situations more than producing ideals of end-structures.[40]

But a true revolution should centre more round the revolutionizing thought than round the technique that brings about that thought into actuality. The means develops itself into the science and technique of action. And science has to cope with ever and newly arising situations. Geniuses at different times and in different

societies devote themselves to further the science and technique of constructive action. The supporting pillar of them is the thought itself. Therefore, the understanding of the ultimate unity of life[41] of the fundamental non-duality of the good of all awakens individual and through him social life gets revolutionised.[42] Those who have faith in the rationality and goodness of man trust man's capacity to convince and be convinced through discussion. An honest lover of free thinking is pained at the sight of somebody accepting his ideas without being convinced of their truth.[43] A genuine revolutionary does not get converted because of some threat, nor does he convert others by compulsion or coercion. Action is an inevitable outcome of understanding. True revolution is, therefore, a matter purely of head and heart, never of sword and compulsion.[44] All techniques and methods of revolutionary action are, therefore, the means of making the revolutionary thought explicit. They are an educative process. And effective education is more a matter of example than of precept. The revolutionary must himself be the symbol of revolution. Even those who preferred armed revolt to thought-revolution, in order to bring revolution efficiently and immediately, were themselves the first converts of the revolutionary thought.[45]

Before Marx, the idea of Revolution for liberty, equality and brotherhood had been regarded as a heritage of the west. The American and French revolutions owe thier origin to Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire and Jefferson. They asserted the right of the tyrannised and unprivileged people to revolt and establish the values of liberty and equality. While the British people could have their say without resorting to arms on a wide scale, the other revolutions had to be brought about through violent assaults. It was natural that the universal appeal of the revolutionary thought should transcend the national boundaries.

While Marx was not so much for the liberty of the individual, he was all for the idea of an international revolution to end eco-

nomic and social injustice. It was again Marx who underlined the necessity of founding revolution on scientific thought. According to him a revolutionary, to be scientific, ought to study the historical development of society and recognise the seeds of revolution therein in order to respond to the demands of time. Marx was not a politician but a thinker—and curiously enough—a thinker without the fundamental faith in thought. He believed in the ultimate victory of the natural goodness of human heart, but had no patience to appeal to the bourgeois-heart. The dogma of class-struggle was an outcome of the lack of the discrimination between end and means and of the absence of insigh tinto the unity of humanity. This tainted the scientific character of Marx's thought. It is also unscientific to make prejudiced and partial assessment of human situation and to seek to transform it. A scientist is a lover of truth. Though the revolutionary thought may emerge out of the circumstances prevalent in a society, it is never a reaction to them; it stands self-evident and independent. That is why while wars are fought on the battle-fields with swords and guns, revolutions are wrought in the heads and hearts of men through thought and love. It is evident that all revolutionaries worship not the weapons of destruction but implements of creation.[46] But none was bold or scientific enough to denounce weapon as the inimical instrument for revolution. It was Gandhi who pointed out the true scientific character of an integral revolution. Thought and love are the sole forces that can be trusted if genuine revolution is to be effected. Then there remains no danger of counter revolution. They are true to human nature. They fulfil the demand that the final state makes. And lastly they rise to the occasion that the present human world has created when violence and conflict are sure to work for death and destruction of humanity.[47]

Thus the Indian Revolution imbibes the spirit of the previous revolutions by upholding the right of the people to revolt for

liberty, equality and fraternity and by whole-heartedly propagating universality and scientific character of revolution. But it strides far ahead to show that these very values have all their support from spirtual values. This is the contribution of spirituality to revolutionary thought. Before the advent of Gandhian revolution, there were two alternative ways for revolution—one of armed revolt and the other of constitutional amendments. But when the representatives cannot dare go against the majority, constitutional ways allow no change even under democracy. Being completely engrossed in appeasing the majority, government often times becomes reactionary. When neither compulsion nor persuasion can avail, only the path of compassion and conviction remains to effect revolution. Hence, Vinoba says that neither massacre nor law can bring the transformed social order, only compassion serves the purpose of true revolution.[48]

While laying down the foundations of the science of revolutionary action Gandhi's synthetic wisdom expresses itself in bridging the yawning gulf between the eternal values of spiritual revolution and the values of the so-called political, economic and social revolutions. In fact, no human problems are to be considered as worldly ones, since worldly problems arise due to spiritual ones. The attempts to deal with them separately are in reality the root of the failure of revolutionary movements. Insight into this truth makes for integrity of human personality and also of society. In individual lives numerous spiritual revolutionaries have shown their undefeatable strength in the teeth of the cruelest persecution. Like Socrates and Jesus—the princes of revolutionaries—many have embraced even death as a result of their protest against the denial of freedom. Even some groups formed for common spiritual endeavours have courageously met tyranny and suppression. It was Thoreau who made a new beginning and showed value of voluntary suffering in asserting one's right of breaking immoral laws. Tolstoy revealed the implications of non-viol-

ence and its role in revolution. Gandhi developed the science of Satyagraha while actually experimenting in political and social spheres on a wide scale.

VI. Satyagraha—Its Revolutionary Role

According to Gandhi "The principles of Satyagraha constitute a gradual evolution."[49] Like all sciences the science of Satyagraha is also an ever developing one. There can be nothing like a dogma requiring strict obedience to the words of the primary prophets. Revolution is a dynamic process. It cannot be wrought by a strict application of a finished and well-bounded theory.[50] Given the basic values of true revolution, in every country it can take novel turns according to changing times and conditions, thus allowing full scope for the genius and independent discriminative sense of the revolutionaries.

'Satyagraha' literally means "holding on the Truth"[51] and it indicates Truth-force or soul force. Truth for Gandhi was God or ultimate Reality and a symbolic expression of the fundamental unity of life. It manifests itself through the cohesive force of Love. Hencce "Truth (*satya*) implies love and firmness (*agraha*) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym of force"[52] A satyagrahi ever strives to realise the fundamental unity. He is "therefore, one who is ready to receive and to imbibe the truth" and to "live upto it."[53] Because of his self-identification with even the tiniest of creatures he cannot but love the whole universe. His love for truth expresses itself in his insistance on freedom of thinking. Since different individuals may differ in their concept of Truth and may be honestly striving to pursue Truth in accordance with each one's vision of Truth, non-violence or love and mutual consideration become eminent.[54]

Hence, the pursuit of truth does not admit of infliction of violence on one's opponent.[55] The force of love is dead against any kind of violence. It is so not because of cowardice or weakness; on the contrary, violence insults human dignity and self-

respect; it is an indication of spiritual ignorance. Satyagraha is a weapon of the brave who can, but would not, use physical force. That is why " Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape and form. "[56] A Passive Resister has no love for the opponent and, hence, can use violence with clear conscience when occasion allows. It can be offered side by side with armed resistance.[57] " But Satyagraha and brute force, being each a negation of the other, can never go together. "

To eschew violence does not mean merely avoidance of the use of physical force but it is to leave no place even for ill-will and hatred. The Satyagrahi has no enmity for the so-called opponent, but because of his love for the opponent he hates to tolerate evil in him or in the system that determinates the opponent's behaviour. This evil is a symptom of spiritual disease that demands treatment by love, sympathy and patience.[58] Patience is suffering. Self-suffering is a way to reach head through an appeal to heart.[59] When discussions and negotiations fail, self-suffering is the only method of opening the eyes of the evil-doer, since violent resistance would be cure worse than the disease. The self-suffering aspect of love is not again a sign of passivity. Love is all active, and it essays to rescue the honour of even the opponent to protect him even at the cost of life.[60] Saytagraha teaches both the art of dying and the art of living for the vindication of Truth.

Appeal to the heart implies that man is much more than mere body and that he is capable of love and understanding. Hence, "only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to brute nature in him, and that the latter yields to it, can be effective Satyagrahis. "[61] In fact Satyagraha is the use of ' soul force '

or the strength of the spiritual content of man. The consciousness of this core of life is the most creditable characteristic of humanity. It is superior to the consciousness of physical existence because it enables to unify and thus reach beyond all conflict without damaging life. Hence, the so-called opponent and the Satyagrahi can together, through mutual understanding, reach a higher plane of truth. Thus in a truer sense a Satyagrahi through non-violent resistance cooperates with the evil-doer in eradicating evil in him.[62] That is why Vinoba Says that satyagraha is not against anybody but ' with ' somebody.[63]

Gandhi thought it essential that Satyagraha—as a weapon to eradicate evil—should be employed to redress the grievances of all kinds through mutual consent in human society. Satyagraha is a " domestic law "and is first exercised while dealing with one's dearest and the nearest. It has also been instrumental in weaning even the deadliest criminals from crime.[64] The purer the Satyagrahi and stronger his love for the other party the better for both. Gandhi believes that ". . .. ..the beauty and effieacy of Satyagraha are so great and the dotrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. "[65] This simple law can be equally and effectively made to work as a method of securing rights by personal suffering[66] in political and social spheres. Here then Satyagraha makes itself known as a mass-movement intended to replacee methods of violence.[67] Since it is independent of all physial and pecuniary assistance ; even the weakest and the poorest can be Satyagrahi. Though communities as well as individuals can use this weapon, it is evident that it rests itself not on the quantity, i.e. the number of Satyagrahis but on their quality.[68] It is universally applicable and thus demonstrates its permanence and invincibility.[69]

VII. The Gandhian Forms of Satyagraha

In the actual struggle for winning independence of India the Satyagraha Movement took three different shapes, viz., Civil

Disobedience, Non-cooperation and Fast. Civil Disobedience can be used to remove the possibility of some local wrong—as was done in the case of Bardoli and Kheda peasant problems. As a way of self-immolation to rouse public conscience without regard to effect, it proves helpful. But it can take only a particular issue, e.g. freedom of speech, a tax like that on salt etc., and can never be directed for a general cause, e.g. Independence.[70] But since it is entitled to break any statutory and immoral law it is applicable to a larger sphere than Thoreau (the author of the Civil Disobedience Movement) actually applied it.[71] All laws and all traditions and all entrenched orthodoxy can be attacked if they go against one's conscience. Since the 'attack' is non-violent if the Satyagrahi is in the wrong he alone will be the sufferer. Thoreau does not seem to be so much emphatic about the non-violent character of the law-breaking action.[72] But though Gandhi's Civil Disobedience works non-violently and on a larger scale, it is not that the laws are to be broken for their being inconvenient.[73] If it is a dictate of his conscience the Satyagrahi should be prepared to lose all except his unconquerable soul while obeying that dictate. Here then the body itself becomes inessential and is offered to death to protect what is essential, i.e. the right to speak and behave in accordance with Truth.[74]

But Civil Disobedience is a dangerous weapon. It is like a knife "to be used most sparingly, if at all."[75] "Non-cooperation is comparatively safe." The danger to the smooth and peaceful working of society lies most in Civil Disobedience, hence Gandhi, so far as he could, avoided taking resort to it and preferred Non-cooperation. While Civil Disobedience demands highest kind of moral character and preparedness for long suffering, Non-cooperation itself can build character and leave scope to prepare one to face suffering. Non-cooperation as a "branch of Satyagraha predominently implies withdrawing of cooperation from the state that in the non-cooperator's view has become corrupt...."[76]

Gandhi has conceived four stages of non-cooperation—each more effective than the previous one. The first stage consists in giving up titles and resignation of honorary posts. The second stage commences when services are denied to government. The third stage demands withdrawal of police and military and the fourth asks for the suspension of general taxation.[77] The third and the fourth are merely contemplated as a remote contingency and to be used rarely. The first two stages included boycott of schools by parents and of courts by lawyers and judges.[78] If the second stage is well organised and fully effective, it makes the working of government well nigh impossible.

Success of Non-cooperation movement depends on organization and constructive work. They evolve order, discipline and cooperation among the people and coordination among the worker. As such, the vow of Swadeshi was a necessity since it creates appreciation of their primary duty to their neighbourhood and of being satisfied with its own products and manufactures. Gandhi knew it well that if government is to be paralysed people must stand on their own legs. Active Satyagraha in the form of Civil Disobedience and Non-cooperation was a temporary phase but what really prepared men for Independence was their reliance on their own resources.[79] That is why Gandhi valued so much his eighteen-fold constructive programme.[80] It was a method of purifying society of its inner and immoral contradictions and thus to prepare it for self-rule. It constituted " the truthful and non-violent way of winning Poorna Swaraj. "[81] Emphasis on Constructive Programme makes it clear that Satyagraha based on the values of non-violence and love is a way of life. To throw off the yoke of foreign rule is only a negative step towards the life of freedom. Real Swarajya is to be built from the very bottom. Hence, not only Swadesi and education but Health and Hygiene were also to be the part of the programme for Swarajya. And integrity of social life comes with unity. Hence, Gandhi's colossal endeavours for

communal unity, for removal of untouchability and for equality of the sexes. A community that is corrupt and that crushes a section of its people in the name of religion or tradition can never be fit to enjoy real Swarajya.

The self-purificatory process is most prominent in Fast as a form of Satyagraha. Fast should never be against even the so-called opponent, it should always be for one's dearest and the nearest who are convinced of the good-will of the Satyagrahi. Fast excludes all reference to self and, therefore, is unconcerned with personal gain.[82] It is solely for the good and gain of others. It becomes the final attempt to purgate the sins and crimes of society with which the Satyagrahi identifies himself. It is " a wreckless and joyous giving without the least reservation "[83] and regardless of success or failure. In this sense it is a prayer—" revealing a yearning of the soul to merge in the divine essence. "[84] It may culminate in dedicating one's life for the cause. Gandhi is conscious that it is a fiery weapon[85] with a science of its own, yet undeveloped. Hence, it is to be resortd to only as a last saviour when all other avenues of redress have been explored and failed.[86] At any moment it can turn into a coercive instrument and falsify its real inspirer, i.e. love. Like every other human institution it can be used for bad as well as good purposes. But with correct logic Gandhi maintained that because of its possible abuse one should not deprive oneself of this great weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha.[87] He himself used it on several occasions. In ashramas he atoned for the sins of children and convinced them " what a terrible thing it was to be sinful. "[88] For the cause of the Harijans he fasted in May 1933. For the sake of communal unity and to atone for public violence he found fast to be the only effective way. Honestly he also admitted the coercive effect of his Rajkot fast and, therefore, rejected its fruit. He had always warned that it is not a thing to be imitated. But in public life there is always the possibility of imitation. Hence, Vinoba is sceptical about the use of fasts for

public work.[89] He thinks that just as mother simply cannot eat seeing her son carried away by sins, so also a servant of mankind may find it impossible to eat and drink when humanity tragically errs. But calculated and intentional resort to fasting seems to be unhelpful.

The panoramic experiments of Satyagraha as a way of meeting conflicting and tyrannical situations were carried out by Gandhi with full devotion from the time of his entrance in South Africa till the end of his life in 1948, thus continuously for nearly 55 years. He proved himself to be a symbol of love and a champion of self-respect of man. He took with himself the South African Indians and prepared them to suffer with patience for eight long years so as to reach the end of the struggle against the insulting and exploitative laws based on racial discrimination. In Champaran he successfully worked to root out the brutal injustices of the planters against the labourers. In settling the dispute between the Ahmedabad Mill Owners and workers he strove hard to maintain goodwill and mutual respect. But most of all, his organizations of Civil Disobedience and Non-cooperation movements possessed epic character. In 1920-22 he aroused the people against the Rowlett Act and Khilafat and Jalianwala Bagh incidents. During 1930 and 1940-41 he called on people to remove the salt-tax and to protest against the imposed war, respectively. In 1942 the nation asked the Britishers through him to 'Quit India.' And he poured his soul in 1946-48 to quieten the butchers and console the afflicted in the border areas of India and Pakistan. He worked as an artist of non-violence, but at the same time admitted his mistake and termed them at times even as 'Himalayan'.[90] He knew the risks he was taking in making Satyagraha an instrument in the hands of common man. But life without risk is no life at all! When man is wasting his talents and strength and is poisoning peace and growth through cunning, deception and wars—is it not praiseworthy that Gandhi's personality could make an adventurous exploration in the sublime

regions of spiritual possibilities? As Jawaharlal Nehru has said—"In this age of uttermost violence, it is strange to think of the man who talked always of non-violence. In this age of consuming fear, this absolutely fearless individual stands out. He demonstrated to us that there can be a strength far greater than that of armaments and that a struggle can be fought, and indeed should be fought, without bitterness and hatred."[91] If Gandhi and others like him have been said to have failed it is a failure with a grandeur of its own.

VIII. Is Satyagraha a Failure?

And in fact it is not their failure, but the failure of humanity at large. And if failure is not defeat, man has much to learn from the 'Satyagraha Movement'. Gandhi himself thought of Satyagraha as mainly educative.[92] The aim is to train the soul or develop character so as to reach near perfection. The Ashrama vows are meant for a true Satyagrahi. In actual struggle the Satyagrahis—the majority of them—fell short of fulfilling the conditions of training and lacked full conviction and so the struggles took a long period.[93] But if the era of common man and democracy is to dawn and the dark future is to be avoided, every "child should learn that in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth and violence by self-suffering."[94] Without ill-will, malice and hatred in his heart, the invididual should be able to face the wrongdoer. All his strength comes from God. Hence, a Satyagrahi without faith in God or spiritual unity of life was to Gandhi an impossibility. In the Satyagrahi's pledge he had explicitly mentioned it. But at the same time it must be conceded that even a Humanist—believing only in the unity of humanity and requiring no faith in God, can use the weapon of Satyagraha with full effect. Only he should have faith in the rationality and moral resourcefulness of human beings. For Gandhi, of course, man was dear and near due to his faith in God in the absence of which he could not

have so much patience and hope in the midst of human brutality and cruelty that made him feel so helpless.[95]

Honest discipline springs from real spiritual understanding. Hence, Gandhi expected that an ideal Satyagrahi observed discipline. Though he is known as a law-breaker he willingly obeys good laws and cooperates with a just government.[96] While condemning and breaking the unwholesome customs and laws he sows the seeds of moral and essential laws of social living.[97] Hence, the Satyagrahi prisoners were the first in obeying the prison rules. Honesty in doing one's duty is the basic requirement of a just social order. And Gandhi's technique of Satyagraha stands solely on truthfulness and non-violence. Gandhi was a strict disciplinarian and asked for full obedience from the non-violent army of Satyagrahis. They could use their discrimination and reason before their choice of the general, but not after that.[98] Only a law-abiding people could have right to break laws unworthy of obedience.

Hence, nowhere do we find encouragement for " the tendency to laxity of discipline and flouting of constituted authority. "[99] If free India is a helpless witness of " indiscipline, discontent and corruption, " it is because the Indians could not grasp the full force and imbibe the true spirit of Satyagraha. Gandhi was conscious that the Congress and the people had not chosen non-violence even as best policy and that some were " playing at non-violence ". And we read in newspapers almost every day about some so-called Satyagrahas[100] declaring themselves to be non-violent. In fact, they are unarmed yet violent resistance to the inconvenient (though many times just) rules and regulations in society. They are an indication of the lack of consciousness of the democratic values, and a threat to peace and order. Kaka Kalelkar calls such psuedo-Satyagraha—Hatyagraha (insistance on killing oneself). It is an immoral way of blackmailing society by the threat of suicide.[101] Dr. Joan Bondurant has also elaborately shown how the very means and objective of Duragraha prevalent all over the world (pre-

judgement, or, stubborn resistance in a cause) differ from those of Satyagraha.[102] It is a tragic fact that even in Gandhi's India people, and especially students, fall victim to the laws of mob-psychology while seeking immediate results and vested interests.

Then is it wrong to expect freedom from hatred and attachment in the case of the masses?[103] Even Swami Shraddhananda at first thought that Satyagraha could not be taken as a mass-movement.[104] But what are the masses after all? Are they not individuals grouped together? And those who consider common man to be incorrigible can have no faith in education and so in democracy. If a chosen few alone can develop themselves and have to exercise physical force to control the rank and file, human world can never hope to be freed from the burden of autocracy and totalitarianism. It is quite true that in a mob the individual is lost and is overpowered by shallow and fleeting emotions and is thus misled. But then the remedy is to lay emphasis on the replacement of modern mob-centred social and political order by an individual-centred one with proper emphasis on quality instead of on quantity. In comparatively small communities individual's alertness and capacity for rational response can be well developed. And again, we know examples of armed soldiers preferring death to slavery while combating a powerful enemy, till the last one rests on the ground. Then is there no possibility of meeting death quietly in a disciplined way when freedom, peace and justice are at stake?[105] One has to pin one's faith on education.

But it is often said that Gandhi was successful to an extent with his Satyagraha weapon, because he was confronted with a freedom-loving Democracy. It is said that Satyagraha would have been proved useless against Hitler and Mussolini. True to his principles Gandhi believed that even these dictators and fanatics were not beyond redemption. "Human nature is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love."[106] But what if they relentlessly and violently enter our territory? It is true that Gandhi

had no occasion to offer Satyagraha against an armed invasion. But during his pilgrimage for peace in the North West Frontier Provinces and during the Second World War when there was every danger of Japan's forcible entry into the Indian territory, he had given his suggestions. Accordingly, Pyarelal says—complete non-cooperation and preparedness to meet death joyously and non-violently for the sake of freedom and self-respect are the only means of resistance in the modern thermo-nuclear arms age.[107] And were not Hitler and Mussolini defeated by the tactics of superior Hitlerism ?[108] asked Gandhi. Besides, in an age when International wars are unanimously condemned for their destructive capacity, all-powerful state-governments—democracies included—are free to use their military power against their own people. Hence, so long as there are slave nations, autocracies and dictatorships and also so long as in Democracies there are obstinate representatives of people, Satyagraha is the only weapon of the people.[109] As for mass-movements, it seems that as society cultivates habits of clearing off differences of opinions on fundamental issues through discussion, arbitration and other peaceful means, the need for mass-movements will be rarely felt. And so far as one can, one should emphasise on individual Satyagraha rather than on eruptive mass-movements. But even in an ideal state, Vinoba conceives, the possibility of occasions when Satyagraha on a large scale will be necessary.[110] Aldous Huxley[111] and Dr. Bordurant[112] have shown that if liberty and justice are to be the values of human life, transformation of the stony hearts and obstinate heads through persuasion and conversion becomes the only substitute of violent warfare.

IX. Is Satyagraha Truly Non-violent ?

But are the ways and means of Satyagraha, that is to say, revolt through Civil Disobedience, Non-cooperation and Fasts—in true sense non-violent ?[113] And morally is there any difference between 'coercion' and 'moving' the heart of the adversary? In Sat-

yagraha there is an honest attempt to avoid causing even inconvenience to the adversary. There is no wish to embarrass or humiliate him.[114] The basic concept of Satyagraha is to reach truth willingly and jointly by rejecting immoral and unjust aspects of human society. If by that act of mutual consent a section of the people or a foreign government loses its unjust privileges, the loss cannot be sa d to be immorally thrust on it. If the world is to save itself from Majority-tyranny and Imperialism or Expansionism, each community and country has to see to it that it preys on no other people. Besides, there is a vast emotional difference between being 'coerced' and 'moved'. Coercion causes ill-will and hatred while morally 'moved' or 'touched' person feels the grandeur and sublimity or pure suffering. Thus even when one loses unjust rights one is obliged for the gift of insight into truth. That is why while asking for land for the landless peasants Vinoba says, "I am revealing true knowledge for the gift of some particles of earth, in fact I am the real donator."[115]

The words 'conversion' and 'persuasion' also some times mislead. In fact, it is not that the Satyagrahi revolutionary converts the adversary and brings him to his cult. There should be no cult of a true revolutionary. If he has one, it becomes one like a fanatic sect and divides people. He should stand only for Truth and Love. What he is entitled to do is to stand firmly for his vision of truth so long as he is not convinced of the incorrectness of his conviction. If he is convinced to be in the wrong he willingly concedes the truth of the other party ; or if they both are in the wrong, together they join to rise a step higher spiritually.

This clarifies in what sense Satyagraha is a substitute for violent warfare. It is not that they separately lead to the same goal. They are not alternatives reaching the same destiny. The very objective of Satyagraha is poles apart from that of war. Both the righteous and the unrighteous wars have been fought to defeat the enemy. Even in the righteous war there is a sense of infallibility and self-

righteousness and a passionate action to compel the opponent to come to his knees. There may be an honest attempt to avoid massacre, but if the enemy is killed it is not considered immoral. A Satyagrahi, in all humility and full preparedness to understand the other party's case, seeks to come out of a conflicting situation together with the other party.[116] His target is the conquest of evil in man and society, not the defeat of him and domination over society. While wars throw away the baby along with the bath, Satyagraha does its utmost, and even asks the Satyagrahi to give his life, to save the baby. Again in violent warfare time-element is a supreme consideration. The earlier the enemy is defeated the better. In Satyagraha earnest attempts will be going on till the unanimous decision is reached.[117]

But though a Satyagrahi thus condemns all war as morally unjustifiable and practically disastrous and, therefore, wishes that non-violent resistance should be offered, he is not so blind to the realities of life as to blame both the violent aggressor and the violently resisting victim in one breath.[118] What the Satyagrahi considers as sinful is not to resist and helplessly submit to the aggressor. With an instinctive reaction he offers his moral sympathy and support to the victim and considers his violent resistance as morally excusable. Though non-violence was his creed, Gandhi was not a doctrinnaire living in an abstract world. Unless man is vigilant to guard his freedom and self-respect he can never be a pilgrim of Truth and Love. That is why Gandhi advised the Jews crushed under the Nazi tyranny in Germany to resist and not to submit meekly. It is again because of his genuine disgust for cowardice that he "wished success to the Abyssinians, the Spaniards, the Czechs, the Chinese and the Poles" in their violent resistance to their aggressors before and during the second World War. As Gandhi had said, if he had to choose between Truth and non-violence he would choose Truth.[119] The way to vanquish violence is not to turn one's back towards it. Love is positively 'aggressive'

in ironing out evil, it is directly constructive in building the palace of peace. It is a path of the brave, and it requires bravery for superior and finer than is needed in physical warfare.

X. Sarvodaya and the Pacifists

Hence, the Sarvodaya thinkers differ widely from the Pacifists, consciencious objectors and War Resistors, in their approach towards the problem of peace. Some of them are against war due to their religious belief in the immorality of war. Others renounce war because of its catastrophic effects on human civilization and even existence. Since the diaster of Hiroshima in the Second World War several organisations have been formed to arouse world conscience and to appeal to the heads of differen governments to sanction the outlawry of war. In recent times the organizations like the War Resistors International, The Peace-Pledge-Union, The Committee for Nuclear Disarmament have been working vigorously and with a consciousness of the need of positve and deep concern for the problems of peace.

Peace has been a thirst of common man from the very beginning of human history. The perpetual wars often caused nausea and induced men to seek shelter in treaties. There are a few converts like Asoka as a result of the heinous tragedy of human slaughter, but on the whole there has been no consciously positive valuation of peace as a thing of intrinsic and independent worth in human life—at least on a large scale. It should be recognised, however, that peace is not merely instrumental for growth. It should not also be viewed negatively. The result of such approach has been explicitly clear in the history of the International world Organizations like the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization. The fiasco of the covenant of the League conclusively proves that so long as there is fanatic nationalism, racial discrimination and hateful competition, the arms race is bound to gain increasing momentum and nullify all attempts at peace and unity. The lack of mutual trust and surging universal fear have since been

developed into dangerous complexes that invite great and small wars. As Kaka Kalelkar has said it should be understood that so long as there is exploitation in various forms in the human world, wars as symptoms of deep disease will be a pathetic reality.[120] Even after the disaster of the second World War it has not been realised that self-lessness in order to win peace and brotherhood on the part of each nation is a necessity. The U. N. O. Charter stands for the fundamental rights of men and the dignity of human personality but the exercise of Veto binds the legs of the Executive. The wars of Korea and Congo-Katanga, the suppression of Hungary, the rape of Tibet and the vain yet obstinate attempts to refuse self-rule to various African nations are proof of the unscrupulous adherence to selfish interests. The ever burning Berlin problem and the crisis in Cuba reveal how, in spite of the attempts to avoid conflicts, walls are created to deprive people of brotherly unification. No more successful are the principles of Panch Sheela in preserving peace and good-will between nations and nations. While great leaders pay lip-homage to the territorial integrity of other countries, their words do not direct their activities. The recent India-China border troubles demonstrate the futility of the mere utterance of high principles time and again without genuine wish for peace and cooperation.

Thus in spite of these attempts the world seems to have rested on a self-created fiery volcano. In the name of security great nuclear powers have rushed into rocket-age. But there is no difference now between an offensive and a defensive nuclear war. And there is little difference between even a local and a global war. It is certain that " what the world needs more than a gigantic leap into space is a gigantic leap into peace ".[121] Two issues are of vital importance for human survival—the cessation of tests and disposal of nuclear weapons.[122] People hopefully wait for the success of the Disarmament Conferences which have been a discouraging story in human history.[123] Albert Schweitzer and Bertrand Russell

both agree that in order to achieve success in talks each nation has to realise that agreement to end the dispute once for all precedes negotiations. For this there is need to shed the universal fear and to rely on mutual trust which is the fundamental condition of human co-existence, or even of existence. Atomic war today will be an act of lunacy.[124]

But if " the hatred, the expenditure of time, money and intellectual ability upon weapons of destruction, the fear of what we may do to each other, and the imminent daily and hourly risk of an end to all that man has achieved......all this is a product of human folly, "[125] is it not high time to come out of it ? There are some constructive suggestions as to how this can be done.

Peterim Sorokin pins his faith on " the unification of the truly creative, scientific, wise and moral forces in all governments and in mankind at large...... " He thinks that the remedy lies in integral governments of scientists, artists and moral personality replacing today's power-seeking and despotic governments if man desires to wipe out the blots of present bloody era.[126] We should abandon the morality of ' in groups ' and ' out groups ' and consider " the world as one unified, universal interdependent whole. "[127]

Like Sorokin Dr. Murty[128] stresses the necessity of observing universal ethics by all states and groups. Accordingly the principles of Homonoia and Tolerance are to be accepted. Since " harmony or sympathy binds the universe " all humanity is bound together with brotherhood. This is homonoia. Tolerance includes three types of freedom—Freedom (*i*) to think and believe, (*ii*) to lead the life one likes, and (*iii*) to unite in corporate activity. In order to promote good-will and create favourable atmosphere scientists and men of letters should come together and appeal to the world conscience. They should thus form a Republica Literaria—an organization beyond the limits of nationality; raciality and religious and cultural boundaries. It has also been suggested that some neutral and peace-loving nations should take upon them to be world-conscience.

Russell hopes to save the world from a possible "cosmically laughable tragedy,"[129] of nuclear disaster and turn it into a stable "world of glory and joy, a world where minds expand, where hope remains undimmed ......"[130] It is necessary to "dismiss the paradoxical theory that we can only keep alive by preparing to kill each other."[131] Since the time of world war I, Russell has cherished strong anti-war feelings. As a foremost pacifist and a philosopher of hope and progress he has done his best to outlaw war and effect disarmament. He shows how after the creation of atom bomb Dr. Einstein and other eminent scientists tried their utmost to internationalize atomic energy and turn it to peaceful use. But as a long term condition for lasting peace he propounds his concept of World Federal Government. This government will have irresistible military power besides legislative and executive powers. It will be like U. N. O. without Veto and with real power of action invested in it. The military strength is felt a necessity because even after complete disarmament, so long as the science of nuclear arms exists there is a possibility of their secret manufacture. But is it not desirable to eradicate the very seed of fear and competition that leads to such secrecy ? Russell, like the Sarvodaya thinkers, lays his ultimate faith in education as the final arbitor of human destiny.[132]

XI. The Way to New World Civilization

As Vinoba says, all this shows how the rational tendencies in the world are converging[133] on the ideal of the good of all. Even politicians, whether they really wish or no, speak, in rare moments of sobriety, like prophets of peace and brotherhood and try to justify morally their selfish moves. That something like a World Federation is a demand of our time cannot be denied. Attempts at high levels may proceed. Sarvodaya thinkers wish all success to such attempts at peace. But what will be the nature of a real transformation of the human world ? Militarism in any form and powerful central authority of however good-will and sympathies,

can never be taken to be a guarantee to secure human civilization and individual development. Vinoba maintains that if the world is to be given a model lesson in how good-will and love of peace work, at least one nation should come forward with unilateral disarmament.[134] The Sarvodaya thinkers are all for world federation. But Vinoba goes to the extent of saying that in the ideal state government should be just like a thought, influencing morally the actions of all communities and individuals.[135] Between the manageable primary units of society and the world federation there will be different bodies, but with increasingly less powers of execution. Thus the Sarvodaya way to bring revolution will be through decentralization of power, elimination of exploitation and through all-beneficial spiritual way of life.[136] The Sarvodaya thinkers try to show that revolution does not take place through systems and strong organizations but in and through individual's life. If initiative lies in the hands of individuals themselves they will be able to make their own life. If they psychologically transgress the boundaries created by religion, race and nation, while doing the work of village, they are loyal not merely to world Federation but even to some future Cosmic Federation.[137] If man gets spiritually revolutionised, all hate, all fear and suspicion will be melted. Towards this end the Sarvodaya philosophers are marching. They believe in building from the ground. We have seen how in India Satyagraha is being put into practice under the guidance of Vinoba through Bhoodana and Gramadan Movement for the realization of true democracy. The science of Satyagraha has infinite potentialities of development in future.

But no ideology of universal approach can remain confined to the boundaries of a nation or a particular society. The application of Sarvodaya methods to the international field will come to mean that all nations should come together for equitable distribution. The law of ' Unto this Last ' no less applies to the problems of poverty, cultural backwardness and spiritual ignorance. The prob-

lems of teeming population and their growing hunger in the starving countries will not allow the developed ones to rest in peace till the principles of International Justice are observed. Only the consciousness of the unitary ties binding humanity together and solving the human puzzles with love and compassion can secure lasting peace. Aldous Huxley, Wilfred Wellock, Russell and the pacifists have stressed this point and have asked for immediate sacrifice on the part of materially and scientifically developed countries. If the boundaries of nations become hazy and separative tendencies disappear the world will realise the best of human culture. In this the Universal Religion of Man becomes the spiritual fountain of inspiration. Of course, for this no new religion or no sectarian ideology can help. The realization of universal brotherhood starts with the individual's actually living the life free from selfish entangles.

Is this a Utopian hope? All ideals before realization remain but ideas. If there is true urgency for revolution in the human mind, the best that is wished becomes actual. The Sarvodaya workers are working to actualise their ideal. If they are to succeed every one has to achieve success. Their failure will be the failure of human aspirations for progress and a blow to human strivings to leap beyond man's present limitations. Gandhi was always hopeful about the future. He had said "To say an idea is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence.[138] And this hope was based on his firm faith that " The law of love governs the world. Life persists in the face of death. The universe continues in spite of destruction incessantly going on. Truth triumphs over untruth. Love conquers hate. "[139]

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Chapter Eleven

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I. Sarvodaya : The Philosophy of Integral Revolution

The Philosophy of Sarvodaya is the philosophy of spiritual revolution. It shows that revolution does not cofine itself only to a section of life, either to the external objective world or to the internal subjective one. Real revolution is integral. The moment our psychological approach to the objective world of circumstances gets transformed, life receives a different meaning, and with it the environmental world changes its texture and assumes a new form. In other words, if men develop a new content in subjective life, they necessarily create revolution in the outer context of human life.[1] All the social institutions, organizations and customs that control and guide human affairs, from the governmental machinery to the organizations for education and play—one and all—reflect the minds of people who themselves give them flesh and blood. When these traditional institutions, organizations and customs grow obsolete and dangerous, it is for men to replace them by new and suitable ones, or even to dissolve them as unnecessary for human development.

But is not the human mind itself a creature of environment and tradition and, if one believes, of previous numerous births ? To an extent this is true. But if determinism were complete, man will have to become a tool in the hands of history or nature. It is the belief that man can make and unmake the human world that assures the possibility of revolution. Only if he can rise above the instinctive psychological plane through understanding that he can hope to bring integral revolution. As Vinoba[3] says the darkness of thousands of years in mountain caves is dispelled within a moment when a lamp is brought near them. The lamp of understanding

brings with it the light of knowledge and the warmth of love that together wipe out ignorance and misery—the results of traditional and past impressions. This spiritual understanding is the realization of the fundamental unity of life. And one need not require necessarily a long period to realize. Realization is not a temporal process at all. That is why it is futile to argue whether evolution or revolution is essential for the transformation. Both these concepts ought to converge on the single point of realization. All human misery is due to the ignorance of the basic oneness of the essence of all manyness. Call the mosaic of existence an ' appearance ' (*Maya*) or a 'spontaneous expression ' (*Sphurti*) of Brahma or Life, it is, nevertheless, a play (*Lila*) of the Non-dual Spiritual Reality. If the play is to be joyous, every conscious individual has to do his best to grasp and realize the indivisible character of the ultimate good of all. What appears as opposition or enmity between the interests of different groups and individuals is a superfluous outcome of piece-meal approach and separative attitude.

II. The Way to End War and Exploitation

The world context to-day demonstrates the result of such attachment to ' my ' and ' mine ' as against ' thy ' and ' thine '. Right from the ideological universe to the practical day-to-day business life a competitive race to excel and defeat others has been going on. The conflicting ideological blocs in their faith not on the inherent worth and truth of their doctrines but on the strength of their armanents and the wealth they possess. In this fierce tug of war the lives of common men and women are being squeezed and the entire human world is facing a dark future. It is said that today for the first time in history, men have prepared themselves to end history. Of course, forces have been emerging to thwart this tragic end. But everyone waits for others to start the healing process. Our morality has been reciprocal. If others do good we are prepared to pose goodness. We seldom think of taking the initiative first. But morality should be a concern of the individual himself for his

own spiritual progress, irrespective of how others behave. If we are to argue on the same lines, in the present context unilateral disarmament on the part of one or the other of the power blocs is the only way out of the present world crisis. If science has given scope to the technological advancement so as to give birth to the Nuclear Age of destruction, it can equally give a new turning to technology so as to construct a society of compact and manageable size. Science has taken humanity to a blind alley. Only morality based on spirituality can teach science that in the world of Man, man should be the primary concern. Life of humanity receives vitality from man's liberty and not from comfort. And it is non-violence that makes for liberty. That is why Sarvodaya thought urges that unless men drive out violence from each and every field and replace in its place the ways of mutual understanding and love, there is no hope for the future. As Vinoba has said a new understanding of the true religion of Man should come forward to unite men irrespective of any kind of differences in them. Such a unity will declare homocide—individual or collective in war—as a sin against man and God.

But violence does not work merely in blood-shed. It imperceptibly crushes life through moral partiality, social inequality, economic exploitation and through political tyranny. The fundamental understandng of the unity of all humanity can fulfil itself only if all these roots of miseries are eradicated.

If spirituality reveals the unity of all life, morality, which is an off-shoot of spirituality, should not tolerate partial application to a section of the human species. One should not morally suffer in society because of sex-difference ; nor should one be punished for theft if amassing of wealth at the cost of others is no sin. Virtue and vice in the individual's life should not be made to depend on natural or circumstantial conditions. Natural distinctions are necessary and beneficial. And Nature's anamoly can be met and overcome through education and medical treatment. Likewise,

circumstances should be made favourable for the weak, the poor and the down-trodden so as to develop virtue in them. Equality of opportunity for spiritual and moral development is an essential characteristics of an egalitarian society.

And then no distinctions based on caste or race or religion should be considered legitimate. All men belong to one human family. There are no untouchables and no inferior races. Birth and colour of skin are no measures of determining purity. So also, as long as there are higher and lower classes based on superior or inferior talents or on more or less quantity of possessed wealth, the evil in the form of hatred and envy will continue to threaten peace and order in society. Equality of economic and social status to all is a demand of non-violent society. For this, any and every kind of work should be considered sacred. In order to root out the distinctions based on pleasant and unpleasant works, as also on intellectual and physical labour, all should share in physical and productive labour and all should get opportunity for intellectual learning. The ideal society will be a synthetic society of producers. Everyone will do one's best in work and will get what one needs most. Sharing of life in weal and woe will alone create a bond of unity. The unwritten codes of service and sympathy in family life are to be extended to life in society.

But then responsibility will be the watchword of truly free society. If no external rules and regulations are to be thrust on individuals, they will have to respond positively to every call of duty. Such spontaneous response is possible if love rules our lives. Pure anarchy is workable when human life is based on self-discipline and restraint that spring from consideration and love. Then each one of us will be a proper representative of ourselves, and we will not need the selected few to govern us. This will be a sort of direct democracy. It will then be Prajya and not Rajya. Organizations and institutions will be formed only to manage

things and not to control men. This will be the end of *Raja-Niti* and the dawn of *Loka-Niti.*

In order to realize such a pure democracy, political decentralization will be the first step according to Sarvodaya. Big party-machines keep moving about the centre of power and within the circle of majority opinion. The central political authorities at governmental level get engrossed in the hugeness of responsibility and become too helpless under the red-tapism to feel for the sufferings of common man. In a decentralized political life every man will be in direct touch with the management so as to have a say in the matters of vital issues.

Such a political order goes ill with the amorphus and ever increasing industry-centred city life. Factory civilization has demoralized humanity to such an extent that it is high time to start reshaping it. Cultured and peaceful way of life develops mostly in agriculture-centred society. Small scale and cottage industries will help to keep the standard of living high. The market economy will die out to yield place to neighbour-and-labour-centred one which can be truly non-exploitative. In this way alone colonialism and imperialism can be abolished.

Such a revolutionized new social order of manageable and self-reliant politico-economic units will stand for liberty. Comfort then will have to be a hand-maid of service and sacrifice. The different primary units will not be like the standardized products of a mill but each one will show distinct originality. Then variety, instead of arousing enmity, will bring beauty to the human world. The citizen of such democracy will not be loyal only to his own small unit but will behave as a citizen of the World Federation. His personality will reflect the qualities of a Universal Man (*Visvamanava*). Since the social order functions solely on soul-force or Love, the power of defence will also reside in the bosom of each citizen, not in military strength. Not war but Satyagraha will be

the weapon of common man when occasion demands his assertion of right to differ.

III. Education for Perpetual Revolution

But is it feasible to capture revolution in any set pattern of Social Order ? Revolution moves with life and life changes every moment. What is new to-day, becomes obsolete tomorrow. Then paradoxically, spiritual revolution will have to teach detachment towards the approved social order, while at the same time it will have to emphasise the necessity of translating the values of spiritual life into actual social living. To-day humanity is facing a dilemma. It has been sufficiently proved by history that if spirituality keeps repeating the abstract truth of the unity of life, remaining at a safe distance from the complexities of common man's life, it creates a gulf between spiritual life and worldly life. This leads to divided personality of man who then lacks integrity and purpose. In this way, the whole human world loses cohesive factors and reaches the acme of selfishness and violence. It then nears its own destruction. On the other hand if spirituality gives a social pattern, sticks to its set forms of institutions and customs, reverse them as God-sent and orders men to obey them irrespective of liberty and equality, it grows into a dogma and shuns human progress. Then cruelty and brutality can honourably rule humanity in the name of a fake spirituality. If spirituality is to escape the two horns of the dilemma, it will have to recognise what Gandhi had said : Life in all its aspects is unity and all human problems should be approached integrally. Again spirituality will have to keep men alert and set them always on guard to prevent the slackening of the speed of perpetual revolution. The concern of spiritual revolution is the all round development of individuality so as to enable men to live fully and to enjoy in all innocence the peaceful and cooperative life of liberated humanity.

Revolution is then only another name for education. The attitude of detachment to the self-created new social life can be

aroused only through proper education. And since education can give little from outside to the growing and developing child, its business will remain solely to dispel the hindrances in the way to natural and spontaneous life of love and true discipline. In a sense, human minds will have to be conditioned to decondition themselves, if no set ideology, or even terminology, no dogma or pattern of living is to dominate humanity. This means that the faculty to deliberate and the capacity to create will have to be developed side by side. Such educational process will work only if educationists believe in the fundamentally incorruptible purity of human nature. Such an education for spiritual revolution will alone hasten the dawn of a new world for which Sarvodaya thought stands.

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